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A

MANUAL

OF

GRECIAN ANTIQUITIES.

WITH

NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY

CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THE GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE,
RECTOR OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, ETC., ETC.

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TO THE

REV. WILLIAM WALTON, A.M.,

This Work is Dedicated,

AS A MEMORIAL OF LONG AND UNINTERRUPTED FRIENDSHIP,
AND A TOKEN OF SINCERE RESPECT FOR HIGH
THEOLOGICAL ACQUIREMENTS AND THE
SOUNDEST SCHOLARSHIP.

PREFACE.

The present volume is on the same plan with the Manual of Roman Antiquities recently published, and is intended to supply a similar want. The materials have been obtained from the latest and best sources, as enumerated below; and of these the first three have afforded by far the largest portion:

1. Smith's larger Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 2d ed. London, 1848.
2. Bojesen's Hand-book of Grecian Antiquities, translated by the Rev. R. B. Paul, M.A. London, 1848.
3. Hase's Public and Private Life of the Greeks. London, 1836.
4. Witzchel's Athenian Stage, translated by Rev. R. B. Paul, M.A. London, 1850.
5. Wieseler's Theatergebäude. Gotting., 1851.
6. Hermann, Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer, 3 vols. Heidelberg, 1841–50.
7. Cramer, Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts im Alterthume. Elberfeld, 1832–8, 2 vols.
8. Krause, Geschichte der Erziehung bei den Griechen, &c. Halle, 1851.
9. Böckh, Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates Berlin, 1840.
10. Friedreich, die Realien in der Iliade und Odyssee. Erlangen, 1851.
11. Becker, W. A., Charikles, translated by Metcalfe. London, 1845.
12. Rich, Illustrated Companion to the Greek Lexicon, &c. London, 1849.
13. Donaldson, Theatre of the Greeks, 6th ed. London, 1849.
14. Grote's History of Greece, 8 vols. London, 1846, &c.
15. Thirlwall's History of Greece, 8 vols. London, 1835–44.

It is hoped that the work will be found as accurately printed as its predecessor. It has had the supervision of Professor Drisler, who has also kindly prepared the Indexes.

Columbia College, February 20, 1852.

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June 16. 1852.

GRECIAN ANTIQUITIES.

INTRODUCTION.

AUTHORITIES.

I. Our knowledge of Grecian Antiquities is derived principally from the writers of that nation. Homer, for instance, furnishes us with most of the information which we possess concerning the Heroic ages; but after his days and those of Hesiod, the absence of contemporary notices for many centuries renders us almost entirely dependent on later writers for an account of the times which preceded them, as well as their own.

II. Among these last-mentioned authorities we may place in the first rank the historians, such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus, and Plutarch; the geographers Strabo and Pausanias; and the orators Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isæus, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Æschines, and Dinarchus.

III. Important information respecting manners, constitutions, and political economy is supplied by the philosophers, especially Plato and Aristotle, and by some of the poets, Aristophanes for instance; while the writings of later grammarians and compilers, such as Athenæus and Ælian; of the scholiasts on Aristophanes and other authors; and of the lexicographers, as Pollux, Harpocration, Hesychius, Photius, Zonaras, and Suidas, the authors of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (Ἐτυμολογικὸν Μέγα), and other dictionaries, furnish a considerable number of detached notices. To these sources of knowledge may be added the study of inscriptions, coins, and other relics of antiquity.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND PHYSICAL OUTLINE.

I. In the Greek authors, the name of *Hellas* (Ἑλλάς) is given to all the countries inhabited by the Hellēnes (Ἕλληνες), wherever

they might happen to be settled; and in this way the Grecian colonies in Asia Minor, in Africa, in Italy, and in Sicily formed as essential parts of Hellas as Attica or Bœotia.

II. In its more special sense, Hellas was bounded on the north by Macedonia; on the northwest by Epirus; on the west by the Ionium Mare, or Ionian Sea; on the east by the Ægæum Mare, or Ægean Sea; and on the south by the Mare Mediterraneum, or Mediterranean, of which the other two seas are merely parts. The countries of Macedonia and Epirus are thus excluded, as being non-Hellenic states, or, in other words, not inhabited by Hellenic races.

III. The country whose boundaries we have just given, together with the non-Hellenic states of Macedonia and Epirus, was called *Græcia* by the Romans, from whom the name has descended to us. The *Græci*, however, were only one of the ancient tribes of Epirus, according to Aristotle, and never became of any historical importance, though their name must at some period have been extensively spread on the western coast, since the inhabitants of Italy appear to have known the country at first as Græcia.

IV. The main divisions of Greece were two in number, namely, Græcia Propria and Peloponnēsus. By *Græcia Propria*, called also *Middle Greece*, and likewise *Northern Greece*, was meant all the country lying without the *Isthmus of Corinth;* and by the *Peloponnesus*, otherwise called *Southern Greece*, was meant all the country lying within or on the lower side of the same isthmus, and forming one large peninsula.

V. *Græcia Propria* was subdivided into the following countries: 1. *Thessalia.* 2. *Acarnania.* 3. *Ætōlia.* 4. *Locris.* 5. *Doris.* 6. *Phōcis.* 7. *Bœōtia.* 8. *Megăris.* 9. *Attica.*

VI. Peloponnesus was subdivided into the following: 1. *Corinthia.* 2. *Sicyonia.* 3. *Achaia.* 4. *Elis.* 5. *Arcădia.* 6. *Argŏlis.* 7. *Messēnia.* 8. *Lăcōnia.*

VII. Greece is divided by its mountain chains, and by the gulfs which penetrate deeply into the interior of the continent, into several regions, with a great variety of soil and climate. No country in Europe possesses such an extent of coast in proportion to its superficial area. Its natural capabilities, while they give promise of abundant success to agriculture, the rearing of cattle, and fisheries, demand, at the same time, constant diligence and industry. From the earliest periods, the attention of the people seems to have been directed to navigation and commerce. But the same peculiarities of situation which invited such undertakings as those last mentioned, would render foreign conquest, as well as a nomadic life within their

own frontiers, exceedingly difficult, and would promote the separation of the people into a number of small independent states, without, however, checking in any considerable degree their intercourse with one another.

1. *Mountains.*[1]

I. The lofty mountains which are the primitive formation, or ribs of the land, appear to have been rent by some convulsion from the southeast, which gave to the country its present form and aspect. Under the forty-second degree of latitude and the nineteenth degree of longitude, a gigantic arm branches off from that vast zone of mountains which divides Europe into Northern and Southern, and after some few deviations from its main direction, ends in the lesser chain of the Tænarian hills. The main course of this great mountain range is nearly due south. But if we take into account an arm branching off from it, the shoulder of which is in latitude thirty-eight degrees, we shall trace its continuation in an easterly direction even into the island of Crete. Its name differed in various parts of the country.

II. A great portion of it, which runs southward, and divides Thessaly and Epirus, is called Pindus, a name blended with a thousand of those beautiful traditions with which the history of Greek civilization is so intimately connected. Nor is it less important to the eye of the geographer than interesting to that of the historian or poet. Two branches, which it sends forth east and west (the former the Tymphæan, the latter the Acroceraunian range), form the boundary of the provinces of Thessaly and Epirus on the Macedonian frontier, and shelter their rich plains and lovely valleys from the north with their woody heights.

III. The eastern branch, the junction of which with the main chain lies under the fortieth degree of latitude, is Mount Olympus, to which another arm, running more southerly, approaches so nearly as to leave only a narrow interval, the Vale of Tempe. This valley conducts the waters of the Peneus, a river which receives into its bosom all the brooks of Thessaly, to the Ægean Sea.

IV. The loftiest peaks of this latter arm are Pelion and Ossa, hallowed by so many traditions as the huge fragments of the Titanic warfare; in other words, of the great conflict of the elements. As we advance to the south, the ramifications, outstretching from the chain of Pindus, from north to southeast, become closer and more intricate. This district, which may be regarded as the heart of

[1] *Hase's Ancient Greeks*, p. 2, *seqq.*

Greece, is divided into narrow plains walled in by mountains, and demanded the varied cultivation of a surface which nowhere afforded space for man to resign himself to nomadic indolence.

V. The aspect of those great valleys which have formed themselves between the outstretching branches of these variously-intersecting chains, and are the channels of streams, seems rather unfavorable to the old Samothracian tradition of an irruption of the Euxine[1] near the Cyanean Islands, though the traces of a conflict with the battering waves are visible in the forms of their coasts. The islands themselves may be regarded as the fragments of that main land which, in mythical story, bears the name of Lectonia, and of which the heights alone were left visible above the submerging waters. All the mouths of the bays are wide on the southeastern side; on the northwest, narrow and inclosed. The Malean Bay alone lies in the exact direction of the current of the waters of the Euxine.

VI. This great catastrophe has been, with considerable show of reason, attributed to volcanic powers, whose agency is still manifested by earthquakes, volcanic products on the surface of the islands (sulphur, lava, and pumice stone), and by the rise of whole islands out of the bosom of the sea (Santorin, for instance, in the year 1707), though no active craters remain to mark to the present generation the scene of the fabled warfare with the Titans. Hot springs, such as those found in the district of Troas, have not been noticed by ancient or modern geographers.

2. *Rivers, Lakes.*

I. Amid the jagged and singular remains of that Plutonic revolution to which we have just referred, and amid the lofty mountains which transsect the islands and a portion of the main land like huge vertebræ, it was impossible for wide plains to form themselves. Rivers or torrents are abundant, as in all Alpine countries; but during a great part of the year they are to be heard rather in the songs of the poets than in the gush or the ripple of the waters in their mountain beds. In the hot months, it often requires the eye of the geologist to discover their track.

II. The Achelous, which empties itself into the Ionian Sea; the Peneus, which forces its way through the narrow pass between the mountain ranges of Olympus and Ossa into the Ægean; and the Alpheus, which flows into the Ionian, are the only rivers of any im-

[1] This tradition, however, has been very ingeniously supported by *Wachsmuth in his Grecian Antiquities*, vol. i., p. 1, *seqq.* Compare *Ukert, Geogr.*, vol. i., p. 194.

portance; the two former in Northern Greece, the latter in the peninsula. Many of the most celebrated streams, among them even the Ilissus, after a short course, sink into the earth; others lose themselves, almost at their source, in the neighboring sea or lakes. There are many lakes, some of them with a subterranean outlet, fed by the confluence of brooks, and important to the surrounding shepherds from the perpetual verdure and freshness which the evaporation of their waters gives to the rich meadows on their margin.

3. *Seas.*

I. Nothing, however, had a deeper influence on the internal activity of all Greece than the neighborhood of the sea, which forms its boundary on three sides, and has worn deep gulfs and created landing-places and harbors in all the sinuosities of its shores. The Ægean makes deep indentations into the land, and affords a secure navigation through the channel of the Euripus. It then, as the Myrtoan Sea, washes the southernmost headlands. The Greeks called this whole sea, from the Thracian Chersonesus onward, *our sea* (*τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν θάλασσαν*).

II. On the west, Hellas was bounded by the Ionian and Adriatic Seas. The deepest gulf on this side, known since the time of Thucydides under the name of the Gulf of Corinth, is divided from the waters of the Saronic Gulf by an isthmus only forty stadia in width. This and other bays gave to the peninsula of Pelops the form of a plane leaf, to which Strabo justly compares it. The early Greeks called the Gulf of Corinth, after the important harbor of Phocis, the Crissæan, a name subsequently limited to merely a part. The importance, however, of the Corinthian Gulf, in comparison with the Saronic, was considerably diminished by the position of the islands of Cephallenia, Zacynthus, and Ithaca, just at its mouth, as well as by the promontory of Leucadia and the Bay of Acarnania, the northern extremity of which is connected with the Ambracian Gulf, the national boundary in this quarter.

III. But exclusive of the islands, so rich in harbors, which lie like boats moored around some large vessel, Greece, in her two principal divisions, namely, the main land of Hellas and the peninsula of Pelops, possesses a longer line of coast than any other country in Europe, England not excepted. Yet her shores were in many parts protected from the sudden descents of barbarians unacquainted with these seas, by strong currents, by rugged and precipitous rocks, or by sand-banks, as well as by the winds which prevail at stated times, and blow with peculiar violence around the promontory of

Malea. These invited the navigator, sailing from Hellas to the neighboring islands, to commit himself to their guidance, to make his passage even to Crete, which is only about fifty miles from Malea.[1]

IV. But if sudden squalls agitated the Grecian Sea, and drove back the timid mariner who ventured but cautiously upon the open deep, the example of the Cretans, and the Phæacians or Corcyreans, who were distinguished for hardy seamanship and daring piracy, gradually emboldened him to defy the dangers of the waves, and fearlessly to take advantage of this high road of commerce.

4. *Climate.*

I. If, in addition to this peculiar conformation of the land, we consider the sky and atmosphere, and the productions of earth and sea, which they gave birth to or fostered, we shall be able to explain how it was that intellect, form of government, language, and other moral phenomena so frequently displayed themselves within this narrow territory in strong and abrupt contrasts. For the skies of Greece (taken in the extent given to it by Strabo, its northern boundary in the latitude of Madrid, its southernmost point more southerly than Gibraltar) are purer and brighter than those of Italy under the same latitude, and stimulate every moral and physical power of man to greater vigor and activity.

II. Though it could not be said of all Greece, as it was of Rhodes, that not a day passed without sunshine; though on the heights of Arcadia ceaseless rain and heavy snow prolonged the reign of winter far into the year, and the dews which nurtured vegetation rendered the nights unfavorable to man; though fogs were brought by the south wind, and tempests, brooding over the mountain passes, shook the earth with thunderings; yet had Herodotus reason to boast for Hellas generally that happy mixture of seasons, which Plato specially claimed for Attica, truly calling it *εὐκρασία τῶν ὡρῶν*. There the north wind (mistral), returning at regular intervals, tempers the heat of the day; there the air is so pure and translucent that the naked eye can discern Chios from the heights of Hymettus; there monuments of art survive uninjured the revolutions of a thousand seasons, though they could not escape the barbarian hand of man.

III. The deep blue vault of heaven there rises above the most enchanting distance, and the clear and brilliant air (*λαμπρότατος αἰθηρ*[2])

[1] *Od.*, xix., 187; *Propert.*, iii., 17.

[2] *Eurip., Med.*, v. 809.

is as favorable to the development of muscular power as the gradual variations of temperature to that of nervous sensibility. Damp and wintry skies hung, it is true, more heavily over Bœotian Thebes, over Arcadia and Eretria; but their rapid vicissitudes rendered the body hardier, and at the same time more susceptible to their widely-differing influences.

IV. Amid the mountains and deep valleys of Hellas great differences of temperature were felt at the distance of a few stadia, and, combined with other local and social influences, produced diversities in the character of the inhabitants such as are not found on the widest extent of level country. Let us but think of the luxuriant verdure of Chalcis, in Eubœa, at the point where the Euripus is narrowest, and then of the scanty and miserable existence of the fishermen of Anthedon, on the opposite strand of Bœotia. But, whatever were its inequalities, scarcely any where was the atmosphere, as it now is in so many places, pestilential.

5. *Mineral Productions.*

I. The nobler metals were not found in abundance. Limestone, which is the predominant formation of the mountains of Greece, contains no rich metalliferous veins. The Phœnicians had dug up gold at Thasos; Thessaly, too, yielded some; and the Hebrus washed down gold in its waters. Silver was found only in Attic Laurium, in Epirus, and in Siphnos. The wants of Greece were supplied from the superfluities of Asia, whose plunder, and afterward whose pay, wrought into consecrated vessels, enriched the sanctuaries and temples, until the luxury of the Philippian age introduced the precious metals into domestic use. The extraction of them was defective and costly, as Bœckh has shown in his admirable essay on the silver mines at Laurium.[1] Nevertheless, the mass of these metals was so much increased by trade and by the resort of strangers, that the price of other commodities in the time of Demosthenes was five-fold what it had been in Solon's.

II. Copper was found in abundance at Chalcis, in Eubœa, where Cadmus was said to have first taught the art of extracting it. Still richer in copper, however, were Rhodes and Cyprus. Here the earliest miners of the ancient world, the Phœnicians, dug for copper, which, wrought into the three primitive weapons, spear, sword, and helmet (δόρυ, ἄορ, κόρυς), as likewise into the three-legged pot or caldron, was still consecrated, even in later times, to the service of the

[1] *Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, &c.*, Berlin, 1814–15; and in the *Appendix to the Translation of the Public Economy of Athens.*

Paphian goddess, the tutelary deity of the latter island, and esteemed a sacred metal.

III. Iron, which has recently been found in Laconia, in Eubœa near Chalcis, and in many islands of the Archipelago, was first wrought in Lemnos. The art of increasing its hardness and density by dipping it in water while red hot, which was known in Homeric times, heightened the value of iron implements. This deep blue steel was also used to ornament the shield of Achilles. Axes made of it were esteemed among the costliest gifts, and formed a profitable article of barter. The perfection of this metal was the mythic steel of the gods, *ἀδάμας*, first celebrated by Hesiod, of which was forged every implement of supernal or infernal use, the fetters of Prometheus, the shuttle of the Parcæ, and the scythe-like *ἅρπη* of Saturn (Cronos).

IV. The treasures produced by the marble quarries of Greece were not less prized than her metallic riches. In the laws of Athens they were ranked with mines. The limestone mountains of Attica, Hymettus and Pentelicus, seemed exhaustless, and afforded the finest material for the architect or the sculptor. Nor was the marble of Paros inferior. Other sorts were distinguished by their local names, for there was scarcely a spot which did not produce excellent sandstone or marble, some of it of the richest colors, which, at a late period, the gorgeous Roman taste eagerly sought after. Mill-stones from the island of Nisyros are mentioned in the Anthology.

6. *Vegetable Productions.*

I. But the surface of the soil of Hellas was still more bounteous than its bosom. Its vegetable treasures, especially those of the Thessalian plains, are still celebrated by modern travellers. The banks of the rivers, enriched by the mud which these deposited, glowing with the richest vegetation, were, on that account, the earliest seats of the old Pelasgi. Of the gifts of Ceres, the farinaceous grains, wheat was not so common nor so heavy as in Sicily. Spelt was very generally grown: of this we find three sorts specified, namely, *τίφη*, *ζειά*, and *ὄλυρα*, which appellations probably denoted different species growing in different times and places: the two latter served as food for horses.

II. The principal food of the Heroic age was barley (*κριθή*, *κρῖ λευκόν*), and porridge made of barley meal (*ἄλφιτα*), the polenta of the modern Italians. Barley was the earliest grain cultivated in Attica; hence the sacred law, according to which barley was strew-

ed over the head of the sacrificial ox, and thin cakes of barley formed part of the offering. Barley meal was mixed in the drink of the initiated; ears of barley formed the chaplet of the goddess, and of the victor at the Eleusinian games; and the Canephori, in the sacred processions, powdered their bodies with the dust of barley meal. At the present day, when a ten or twelve fold crop is considered the ordinary produce of good land, wheat, barley, rice (which Theophrastus mentions as an Indian plant, and Dioscorides recommends for its medicinal virtues), maize (indigenous to America), millet, and tobacco, are the chief produce of the Hellenic plains.[1]

III. The flocks of sheep and goats found rich and peculiarly aromatic pastures on the slopes of the mountains. There still grow the flowers around which hum those busy swarms of bees, whose honey, after the lapse of more than a thousand years, vindicates its ancient fame. The *Satureia capitata* and *Satureia thymbra* are, more especially, the plants out of which the bees of Hymettus sucked those luscious and fragrant juices with which none but those of Hybla could compare. Recent travellers unite in extolling the profusion of flowers and shrubs which adorn the hills and vales of Greece. All the fragrant plants which Eupolis celebrates as the food of goats, the laurel, the oleander, the *Arbutus unedo*, the *Arbutus andrachne*, the *Agnus castus*, the *Cystus Creticus*, the *Pistachia lentiscus*, the myrtle, all still bloom on the soil of Greece. Roses in great variety; the many kinds of heath; the ivy (*Hedera helix*), once so luxuriant in Acharnæ; the broom, the sage, lilies, hyacinths, the asphodel and the Attic violet, have not yet forsaken the land haunted by so many beautiful recollections.

IV. Above this lesser vegetation still rise (where man, with barbarian labor, has not destroyed them) lofty woods, part of which are useful for architecture or ship building. The traveller still finds, here and there, planes and cypresses, the fragrant silver poplar, and the Grecian cedar, which, by their gigantic size, recall the sacred trees of antiquity.

V. Under the common name of oak the earliest Greeks comprehended all forest trees with edible fruits, all which were called ἀκρόδρυα. The sacred oaks of Dodona, whose foliage, down to the latest times, adorned the head of the lord of the city, Jupiter (Zeus), had the first claim to the veneration of primitive man. The acorn (βάλανος) gave them food; mead made from the honey furnished by

[1] *Link on the Ancient History of the Cerealia* (*Transactions of the Academy of Sciences*, Berlin, 1816–17). Compare the *Anc. Hist. of Leguminous Plants, &c., by the same author* (*ibid.*, 1818–19).

the wild bees which swarmed around this tree of life, afforded drink; and its parasite, the mistletoe, yielded them bird-lime. A tree so bounteous in blessings must needs be the abode of some beneficent deity, whose presence was proclaimed by the rustling of its leaves, and by the choirs of birds among its branches.

VI. Other fruit-bearing trees—the nutricious chestnut, the walnut, the Cydonian quince, the pomegranate, all of which grew wild in Hellas—had been made to bear more generous fruit by the diligence of man. The wild fig (*ἐρινεός*) had been used to bring to quicker maturity the cultivated sort (*συκῆ*); for the same process of caprification (*ἐρινασμός*), by which, so early as the time of Theophrastus,[1] and even earlier, the fructification of figs, by means of minute insects, which feed on the pollen of the wild fig-blossom (*ψῆνες, culices ficarii*), was produced, is still used by the Athenians in the month of June.

VII. Oranges and lemons, which now thrive abundantly in spots sheltered by heights from cold blasts, some have been induced to recognize as the golden fruit of the Hesperides; and from the time of Theophrastus we find them accurately described. The want of them was scarcely felt amid the abundant increase which followed the introduction of the noblest of fruits, and the rich blessing of the vine with which Bacchus crowned the garden of Hellas.

VIII. The islands of the Archipelago, Chios, Lemnos, Lesbos, Thasos, Leucadia, &c., might boast of the earliest culture of the grape; but even Homer extols the vine-clad shore of Epidaurus, and the vineyards of Arne and Histiæa. To quote all the local names which he celebrates for their excellence would furnish matter for a considerable work. Sibthorp counted in modern Greece thirty-nine different sorts of grape, exclusive of the small species, commonly called the currant (from Corinth), which is not used for wine. But a custom derived from the remotest antiquity (which, however, has not been adopted in Asia, on the hills of Troas, and in some islands, Naxos for instance) spoils the flavor of the juice of the grape to European palates. Turpentine, from the *Pinus maritima*, which was barked for the purpose in September, often even tar, is poured in great quantities (three pounds to twenty-four gallons English) into the wine, to prevent its turning sour. The pine cone on the staff of the thyrsus is the type by which the old Hellenes signified this ancient union of the gifts of the vine with those of the pine-tree.

IX. According to early tradition, the olive (*ἐλαία, Oliva Europæa*) was brought into Greece from the north, while modern botanists

[1] *Theoph.*, c. pl. ii., 9, 5; *Plin., H. N.*, xv., 19; xvii., 27.

affirm that it is a native of Crete. Recently, as well as in remoter times, it formed the wealth of Attica, where it throve excellently, and yielded the finest fruit. A jug filled with the oil of the sacred, inviolable trees was the highest prize at the Panathenæa. Modern botanists have discovered eight or ten different species of this tree in Hellas. Its oil, which was an article of indispensable utility to the Greeks, both for light and in the baths, and also at their feasts, was one of the richest sources of national revenue. The export of oil to countries which did not produce, as, for instance, Babylonia, Pontus, and Persia, permitted from the time of Solon, was very profitable to the state. There was an ancient practice of planting olive-trees in alternate rows with fig-trees, in the corn-fields of Attica; and, indeed, the Greeks generally were accustomed to plant fruit trees, even with the vine, in rows on their arable land (*ἀλωά*).

X. Medicinal plants grew in great abundance in Crete. The strange notion of the curative properties of the hellebore does not seem to have prevailed there. The true dittany (*δίκταμνος, Origanum dictamnus*) is a native of that island, and a multitude of other plants, whose disfigured names recall to us the travellers of Dioscorides, who, like the Englishman Sibthorp, and the German Sieber, devoted their attention to the vegetable productions of Greece.

7. *Animal Productions—Beasts.*

I. In a climate so rich in the most varied vegetation, we might safely anticipate a no less remarkable abundance and variety of animal life. The lion was, according to mythical traditions, a native of the proper soil of Hellas. One assigned him to Nemea; another, which has been preserved in a monument discovered by Bröndstedt, gave him to Ceos. Tigers, the peasants affirmed they had seen on the opposite shores of Asia, at the foot of the ancient Gargarus, which thus justified the old renown of the Trojan Ida as a *μήτηρ θηρῶν*. Wolves were so numerous in ancient Arcadia, that lycanthropy, the belief in the wehrwolf, or the hypochondriacal illusion of being transformed into a wolf, was an endemic disease of these acorn-eating people, and was sought to be arrested by the sacrifice of young boys. The disease was most rife in the beginning of spring, generally about the month of February.

II. The hardy youths of Attica exercised their skill and strength in the chase, accompanied by powerful dogs: wolves, deer, and hares were the principal game. The largest breed, the Molossian hound, very much resembling the wolf, was equally valuable to the Greeks as the guardian of their houses and of their flocks. Art has

bequeathed to us a type of this noble animal, which is now in England. It is probably a copy of a work of Myron. But the Spartan greyhound, the attendant on Diana in all ancient works of art; the Arcadian, Argive, Locrian, and Eretrian dogs, had also their peculiar renown. Their posterity, the herds of wild dogs which now beset and annoy the traveller, bear the stamp of the general degeneracy.

III. Wild boars also furnished occupation for the passionate lovers of the chase. Tame hogs, very nearly resembling the wild breed, formed a main article of food; their flesh, roasted, was the principal diet of the athletes during their training, and at a great many sacrificial ceremonies swine were prescribed by law.

IV. Horses were not indigenous to so mountainous a country as Hellas; they were probably imported from the northern coast of Africa. How they were transplanted into the plains of Thessaly,[1] where they relapsed into their native wildness, can not, however, be precisely ascertained. According to a primeval tradition, this noble animal was a gift of Neptune (Poseidon), whose earliest rites on the shores of Greece, for instance, in Onchestus, were connected with equestrian games. The harnessing of horses in the quadrigæ and the games of mimic war were imported arts. The Thessalians were masters of the art of guiding their horses round the ring with the bit, and in training them for the field of battle.[2] But, with jealous pride of race, several tribes claimed the honor of subduing the horse; and Athens disdained not to ascribe this glory to her holy patroness, on the western pediment of the Parthenon; for to tame and discipline the free and unconquered steed was felt to be one of the achievements which attest the supreme dignity of man. To what perfection the horse, by whose aid the most glorious prize at the games was gained, attained in this happy clime, we learn from some written testimonies, and still more from the works of art which have come down to us in great abundance.

V. Equal care was bestowed on the bulls, which grew to an enormous size on the fat pastures of Epirus; or those which ran wild in Thessaly, and the capture and subjugation of which, man esteemed the triumph of his corporeal strength. According to the early laws of Greece, the ploughing ox was held sacred, and was entitled, when past service, to range the pastures in freedom and repose. It was forbidden, by the decrees of Triptolemus, to put to death this faithful ally of the labors of the husbandman, who shared the toil of ploughing and thrashing. Whenever, therefore, an ox was slaughtered, he must first be consecrated or devoted as a sacrifice (ἱερεῖον)

[1] *Theocr., Id.*, xviii., 30. [2] *Virg., Georg.*, iii., 115.

by the sprinkling of the sacrificial barley; this was a precaution against the barbarous practice of eating raw flesh (*βουφαγία*). A peculiar sacrifice (*Διϊπόλεια*) at Athens, at which the slayer of the ox fled, and the guilty axe was thrown into the sea, yearly placed before the people a visible type of the first beginnings of their social institutions.

VI. The climate and soil of Greece were peculiarly favorable to the breeding of sheep, of which two races, the long and the flat-tailed, were especially distinguished. Modern naturalists have pretended to detect in the form of the rams' heads, so frequent in ancient temples, the precise craniological peculiarities of the genuine Merino breed. Countless flocks grazed in the rich pastures of Arcadia, and their sudden and resistless flight, without any obvious cause, was ascribed to the wanton tricks of Pan (*δεῖμα πανικόν*). Pliny relates that a Grecian breed of sheep (whether he speaks of Magna Græcia or of Hellas is not certain) was much esteemed for its wool.

VII. The goat, so variously useful to the Old World, was not less favored by nature, and throve especially in Scyros. The characteristic qualities of this animal, so congenial to the sportive and petulant Greeks, are caught with singular accuracy and felicity in the works of antique art. And they still enliven the mountains of Hellas with their gambols.

VIII. The ass and the mule here, as in other southern countries, attained to a great size, and to a strength which was the more valuable from its long duration. Hence the simplicity of the Homeric age thought it no scorn to liken the most valiant hero, the slowest to quit the field or to recede before the foe, to an ass. Plato, who, contrasting the slow comprehension of Xenocrates with the mental rapidity of Aristotle, compared the former to the ass, the latter to the horse, appears to have been the first that gave this patient and intelligent animal an ill name. At a later period, when the belief in the bugbears and spectres of the Aristophanic age recognized even an asinine empusa,[1] this prejudice became more established.

IX. But the mice which drank the sacred oil, or gnawed the sacrificial garlands, are necessary to complete the picture, were it only to remind us of the pretended Homeric poem, the Battle of the Frogs and Mice, in whose burlesque descriptions the Grecian world so early delighted. Mice, from their rapid increase, were reckoned among the plagues of the land, and furnished occasion to many proverbs and sayings. Their presentiment of changes in the

[1] *Aristoph.*, *Ran.*, 295; *Acharn.*, 582; *Wachsmuth*, *Gr. Ant.*, vol. iii., p. 103.

weather, however, gave them a place among the prophetic animals, which were thus brought into connection with the god of prophecy, Apollo Smintheus.[1] The arch enemy of the mice was the small owl (*Strix passerina*), which, as an inhabitant of the citadel of Athens, was sacred to Pallas, and peculiarly cherished by the Athenians.

8. *Animal Productions—Birds.*

I. A native of the towering Olympus, and of all the peaks of the range of Pindus, was the eagle, which his lofty flight, his keen eye, his steadfast gaze on heaven, and the flames which were seen to gleam around him as he soared through electric clouds, marked out to be, without a competitor, the servant of Jupiter, and the bearer of the thunderbolt. From the time of Pindar he has been the faithful attendant of Jove. The soaring hawk, for similar reasons, and as the herald of indications from the realms of ether, was attached to the prophet-god Apollo. The white migratory pigeon of Syria was sacred to Venus, because it is frequently found at Paphos and Eryx, two spots celebrated for the worship of that deity. The Dodonean doves or pigeons, according to Herodotus, were dark-colored. The first white ones that were seen in Greece appeared when the Persian fleet was wrecked at the foot of Mount Athos.

II. The peacock belonged to the temple of Juno at Samos. From that spot they spread over Greece, but were always rare. In the time of Socrates, and even of Philip of Macedon, they were admired as curiosities, and in earlier times a thousand drachmæ was the price of a single peahen. An edict of the Emperor Diocletian (A.D. 303), for the city of Stratonice, fixes the price of a fatted peacock, in dear times, at two hundred and fifty denarii; for Roman luxury, from the time of Hortensius, had reckoned pea-fowl in the number of dainties. Pheasants are spoken of as a festal dish by Philoxenus of Cythera, in his poem of the Banquet (*δεῖπνον*). A hybrid race was produced by a cross with the common fowl. Fighting cocks, in whose battles, as well as in those of quails, the ancients so greatly delighted, were reared more particularly in Bœotia, Rhodes, and at Chalcis.

III. Nor was the melodious song of the nightingale wanting in the groves and thickets of Greece, though she was but a foreigner and a visitor, and her voice was heard but for a short time. Attic vanity connected the sweet songstress of spring with Attic history by a mythic tale. The household swallow was in like manner in-

[1] *Il.*, i., 39; *Schol. ad loc.*

terwoven with the legendary history of Athens by the tragic poets of the Attic stage. The nightingale and the swallow were both of them birds of passage. The children in Rhodes greeted the latter as herald of the spring in a little song. Troops of them, carrying about a swallow, sang this from door to door, and collected provisions in return.[1]

IV. The chief food of the swallow consisted of those *cicadæ* or chirping crickets (the ἀκρίδες as well as the τέττιγες), which were kept in houses like singing-birds, and more especially in the apartments of the women. By a quick, tremulous motion of the wings against the sides, these little creatures produced a sort of song, which, according to the notion of the Greeks, formed a part of the full charm of summer. The fashion of wearing a golden *cicada* in the hair was one of great antiquity in Athens, and was meant as a symbol of the so-called autochthonous origin of the Athenian people.

V. Autumn was the season of that annual emigration of the cranes to the sources of the Nile, which suggested those inimitable lines in which Homer describes the noisy troops. Storks, quails (the type of every thing commonplace), and geese were among the migratory birds. The swan, which the lyric poets from Hesiod's time made the attendant on Apollo, bringing with her from far Ligya that dying song, which was afterward derided as a fable, to the well-known seats of the god, bred on the marshy shores of the Eurotas, in Tempe, and at Delphi. But the ear of the Greek heard, even in the call with which the tame partridge enticed its wild companion, a clear song, agreeable from the invitation which it conveyed.

9. *Fishes.*

I. Modern travellers affirm that the Greeks are now very inexpert fishermen, and it would appear that their ancestors, also, had no very remarkable skill in fishery. The most important production of the sea was the thunny (θύννις, πηλαμυς, κορδύλη, named according to the difference of size and age), which yearly passed in shoals through the Straits of Hercules into the inner sea. The whole body resorted to the Propontis and Bosporus, where they deposited their spawn. This main shoal was driven into nets, and the fish harpooned with the trident, the primeval weapon of the Phœnician thunny-fishers, and the emblem of their maritime supremacy. It was not expedient to catch fish in the open sea; they were fatter near the shore.

II. Oysters (τήθεα, at a later period λιμνόστρεα), which were fished

[1] *Athenæus*, viii., 60.

for by divers, were eaten, as it appears, even by the contemporaries of Homer. It is, however, among the Romans that we first hear them spoken of as a dainty. The murex was abundant on the coast of Greece. The sepia, too, with its remarkable power and instinct of self-preservation, by tinging the water around it with a dark liquid, was known, though no attempts had been made to apply it to technical purposes as a dye. The Romans subsequently used the juice for ink. The dolphin, celebrated in old traditions for its love of music and its attachment to man, was found in abundance, and afforded numerous subjects for painting and sculpture.

III. Pearls were not found in the Grecian seas. Anacreon is the first who mentions them, if, indeed, the twentieth ode be his. They, as well as gems, were first in use among the Greeks, as a part of female dress, after the time of Alexander.

IV. The great lakes, especially the Copaic, contained delicious eels, which, when they attained to a great size, were accounted sacred. Venomous serpents were more abundant in fable than in reality.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE.

1. *The Grecian Tribes.*

I. The people whom we call *Greeks*, or *Hellēnes*, were not the earliest inhabitants of the country. Among the names of the many tribes which are said to have occupied the land previous to the Hellenes, the most celebrated is that of the *Pelasgi*, who appear to have settled in most parts of Greece, and from whom a considerable portion of the Greek population was probably descended.

II. The Caucones, Leleges, and other barbarous tribes, who also inhabited Greece, were probably all parts of the Pelasgian nation; and we may regard the name *Pelasgi* as a general one, like that of Saxons, Franks, or Alemanni, and suppose each of the Pelasgian tribes to have had also a name peculiar to itself.[1]

III. All these tribes, however, were obliged to submit to the power of the Hellenes, who eventually spread over the greater part of Greece. Their original seat, according to Aristotle, was near Dodona, in Epirus; but they first appeared in the south of Thessaly, about B.C. 1384, according to the common chronology.

[1] *Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i., p. 45, 8vo ed.

IV. In accordance with the common method of the Greeks of inventing names to account for the origin of nations, the Hellenes are represented as descended from *Hellen*, son of Deucalion. Hellen had three sons, *Dorus*, *Xuthus*, and *Æölus*. Xuthus, again, had for his sons *Achæus* and *Ion;* and from these four, Dorus, Æolus, Achæus, and Ion, were descended the *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Achæans*, and *Ionians*, who formed the four tribes into which the Hellenic nation was for many centuries divided, and who were distinguished from one another by many peculiarities in language and institutions.

V. Of the four tribes just mentioned, the *Æolians* were spread over Greece from a very remote antiquity; the *Achæans* were a powerful nation in the Heroic ages; and the *Ionians* and *Dorians* became more important than either, though at a somewhat later period.

VI. Other traditions, of a very mythical and unsatisfactory character, mention the immigration of foreigners, such as *Danaus* and *Cecrops*, who planted Egyptian colonies in *Argos* and *Attica;* *Cadmus*, the leader of certain Phœnicians, who settled in *Bœotia;* and *Pelops*, who came from Asia to the *Peloponnesus*. Thus much, however, is certain, that the connection of Greece with Asia is of very ancient date, and that the art of writing was learned from the *Phœnicians*, although the intercourse of the Greeks with foreigners was far from exercising so overwhelming an influence as to change the national character in any essential particular.

2. *Migrations of the Tribes.*

I. The notices of these remote times, if we except the light thrown on the events of the Trojan war (B.C. 1184) by the poems of Homer, are hopelessly obscure and confused. Some traditions, however, have reached us of revolutions and migrations among the tribes, which were occasioned by various political convulsions, not only before, but subsequently to the siege of Troy.

II. The last of these was the immigration of the *Dorians* and *Ætolians* into the Peloponnesus (B.C. 1104); from which period we may date the supremacy of the Hellenic name. In consequence of this movement, the Dorians became possessors of the greater part of the Peloponnesus, the ancient inhabitants of which were either enslaved or expelled, or were incorporated into the Dorian tribe.

III. The *Achæans*, who had previously occupied a considerable portion of the peninsula, were now forced to take refuge in *Aigialos*, or what was afterward called, from them, *Achaia*, from which they expelled the *Ionians*, who migrated, in the first instance, to *Attica*, and thence, at a later period, to the western coast of *Asia Mi-*

nor, where colonies were also established by other Grecian tribes. These migrations having ceased, the different nations remained occupants each of its own distinct territory.

IV. Of the principal tribes the *Æolians* possessed *Bœotia*, a part of *Eubœa*, some of the islands, as *Lesbos* and *Tenedos*, and the coast of *Mysia*. The *Ionians* colonized *Attica*, a part of *Eubœa*, the *Cyclades*, and the coast of *Lydia*, with several of the islands. The *Dorians* had *Doris*, a great part of *Peloponnesus*, *Megaris*, *Crete*, and a number of the smaller islands. In some districts, especially in Northern Greece (*Locris*, *Phocis*, *Ætolia*, and *Acarnania* for instance) we still find pre-Hellenic tribes. In *Thessaly* dwelt the *Thessalians*, who had migrated from *Thesprotia*; in *Elis* the *Minyans* and *Ætolians*; and in the colonies a mixture of all the different races.

V. Among the Ionians and Dorians, more than any other people, we find a distinctly-marked and separate family character, which manifests itself in their language, literature, cultivation of the arts, and political institutions.

3. *Development of Political Institutions—Decline and Fall of Monarchy.*

I. We learn from Homer that in the Heroic age Greece was divided into a number of petty independent states, governed by kings, whose authority, though considered to be of divine origin, does not seem to have been very distinctly defined with reference either to the aristocracy or the people.

II. This separation into small states was of long continuance; nor do we, in fact, ever hear of any permanently-established confederacy among the Greeks. The states were formed by the voluntary annexation of a district or tract of country to some city which had risen into importance by its trade or commerce. Hence the similarity of the words used to express the notions of "a city" and "a state," such as *πόλις*, *πολιτεία*, and *πολίτευμα*.

III. In these states the form of government was gradually changed, between B.C. 1100 and 900, from the monarchical to the republican; a revolution which was favored by the innate love of the Greeks for freedom and independence, the insignificant extent of the states themselves, and the tendency of men's residence together in cities, to develop a civic constitution; especially when the low state of intellectual cultivation, their simpler political relations, and the general employment of slaves (captives taken in war, or purchased from the barbarians) placed all freemen on a comparatively equal footing. Not unfrequently, the change of constitution was occasioned, or at least hastened, by the misconduct of the king himself.

4. *The Aristocracy.*

I. The development, however, of the popular form of government was gradual. The first movement was made by the aristocracy, whose encroachments undermined the monarchy, and paved the way for more liberal institutions, without either violently overthrowing the kingly power, or assuming a hostile attitude against the as yet imperfectly-developed democracy.

II. The foundation of such an aristocracy was gentle birth (*εὐπατρίδαι, εὐγενεῖς*), with its accompanying personal qualifications, freehold property, knightly service (*γεωμόροι, ἱπποβάται, ἱππεῖς*), and, at a later period, when commerce had increased, the possession of personal wealth (*οἱ πλούσιοι, οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες*).

III. This distinction between the aristocracy and the people is expressed by the terms *οἱ καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, οἱ ἐσθλοί, οἱ ἄριστοι*, on the one side, and *οἱ πονηροί, οἱ δειλοί, οἱ κακοί* on the other. Sometimes it was founded on the distinction between city and country, especially where foreign conquerors had taken possession of a town, and circumscribed the civil privileges of the vanquished. In such cases the latter were either permitted to retain their personal liberty and property, subject, however, to the payment of tribute and the forfeiture of their civic rights, or were deprived of their freedom and became the bondsmen of the conquerors, like the Helots (*Εἵλωτες*) at Sparta, or the Penestæ (*Πενέσται*) in Thessaly.

5. *Development of the Democracy—Struggle of Parties.*

I. The taste for importance and influence in the state, when once excited, continued to enlarge its circle, so that the aristocracy was by no means permitted to remain in the undisturbed enjoyment of the power it had acquired. Such an aristocracy often degenerated into an oppressive oligarchy, which, although supported at first by its hereditary reputation, the preponderance of property and intelligence, and the possession of arms and fortified places, was not unfrequently involved in a fierce controversy with the newly-aroused democratic spirit (*δῆμος, plebs*), which produced a general struggle between the aristocratic and democratic parties throughout the whole of Greece and her colonies.

II. The results of this struggle varied according to circumstances; but in many instances the popular party was triumphant, and succeeded in wresting from their opponents the remission of debts due from the commons to the aristocracy, the privilege of intermarrying with the nobles, equality of civil rights, and a larger share in the administration.

III. Sometimes these party contests led to the formation of a constitution, either through the personal authority of some individual, like Pittacus of Mytilene (B.C. 590), or by means of an established code of laws, like those of Lycurgus at Sparta (884), Zaleucus among the Epizephyrian Locrians, Charondas in Catana, and several Chalcidic cities (both about the middle of the seventh century before Christ), and Solon at Athens (594).

IV. More frequently, however, the efforts of the democracy ended in the establishment, for a time, of an absolute anti-aristocratic monarchy (*τυραννίς*), in which the ruler's will was the only law. Such, for example, was the tyranny of Cypselus at Corinth (655), who, with the assistance of the people, overthrew the oligarchy of the Bacchiadæ. This was especially the case in the seventh and sixth centuries before Christ; yet it would be a mistake to suppose that absolute monarchy in those days, provided always that it did not degenerate into caprice or ferocity, was hostile to the people, or unfavorable to the expression of public opinion.

6. *The same subject continued.*

I. The increase of navigation and commerce, the extension of their cities, and the more general diffusion of knowledge, were all favorable to the development of the democratic principle, which was, moreover, frequently promoted by the corruption of morals peculiar to an oligarchy; sometimes, too, it happened that some member of the oligarchical body became the leader of the popular party.

II. The Persian war, while it awakened the consciousness of Greek nationality, and brought the different states into closer political contact, at once both raised the courage of the people and weakened the resources of the aristocracy. In the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 431–404) the aristocratic party generally sided with Sparta, and the democratic with Athens; while during the whole war the struggles of the two factions continued as fiercely as ever in the several states.

III. At the end of this contest the aristocracy was victorious; but its abuse of the power thus acquired produced disturbances, banishments, and wars of extermination, in which we find foreign mercenaries serving in the place of the native soldiers, who were themselves also frequently hired in the same manner by foreign powers. In many places there arose an unbridled and oppressive democracy, led by ambitious and selfish demagogues, which was resisted by oligarchic factions or associations (*ἑταιρεῖαι, συνωμοσίαι*).

IV. The demoralization produced during these struggles sapped the very foundations of Grecian liberty, paved the way for the at-

tempts of Philip of Macedon to obtain the sovereignty of all Greece, and made their country the theatre of various wars in the days of his successors. Yet in these very wars we witness, from time to time, flashes of the old Grecian spirit; such, for instance, were the attempts at Sparta to overthrow the oligarchy, and re-establish the constitution of Lycurgus, and the struggle of the democratic Achæan league against the tyranny and power of the Macedonians.

7. Decline and Fall of the Grecian States.

I. In the midst of all this confusion, the arms of the Romans opened for themselves a way into Greece. The taking of Corinth (B.C. 146) gave the last blow to Grecian freedom. The political affairs of Greece were now managed by the Romans; but the governor of Macedonia still continued to exercise great influence, until the whole of Greece was incorporated into one province, under the name of Achaia. At the same time, some of the cities were treated more indulgently than the rest; a few, such as Athens and Delphi, were even recognized as *liberæ civitates.*

II. Nero's whim, at a later period, of proclaiming the independence of Greece, produced no results. The echo of her former literary renown was indeed heard in Athens, but national feeling and intellectual life were extinct; and the land, weakened already by Roman tyranny, and the struggles of the Greeks with one another, was utterly devastated in after times by the barbarian invaders.

8. General Form of the Constitution in the Free States of Greece.

I. As essential parts of every Hellenic constitution, whether aristocratic or democratic, we may notice the Senate and the Popular Assembly, both of which were always recognized from the days of the monarchy. In democratic states the sovereign power resided in the General Assembly of the people; in aristocratic, it was in the hands of the Senate (*γερουσία*), or Assembly of the Notables.

II. The executive authority was vested in a host of commissioners, or of magistrates under various names, who, according to the aristocratic or democratic form which the ever-changing constitutions of the states happened for the moment to assume, were elected by a constituency, and under qualifications more or less limited, and continued in office during a longer or shorter period. These functionaries were also subject to a *δοκιμασία*, or trial, previously to entering upon their office, and subsequently were required to give an account (*εὐθύνη*) before the supreme government of the manner in which they had discharged its duties.

III. The judicial power was shared in various ways by the people, the senate, and the magistrates. The more important criminal charges were generally disposed of by the people or the senate, while private disputes were settled by magistrates or colleges of judges.

9. *Ionic and Doric States, particularly Athens and Sparta.*

I. In that Grecian race which, on account of its superior intelligence, developed its powers most rapidly, and, by means of its commerce and navigation, attained the highest state of prosperity, namely, the Ionic, democracy made the most rapid advances. The most important among the Ionic states was Athens, where the healthy life of democracy, and a yearning after a free and universal development, displayed itself more vigorously than elsewhere, but soon degenerated, as far as the multitude were concerned, into a one-sided struggle for equality, capricious treatment of the powerful, an envious opposition to superior vigor and capacity, unbridled license and disobedience, and at last into coarse selfishness and empty vanity, which was made the tool of every demagogue and sycophant who chose to flatter it.

II. Among the Doric states, Sparta was the most considerable. Here the genuine Spartans, or inhabitants of the city, formed, in their relation to the Periœci (Περίοικοι), or inhabitants of the country, an aristocracy, which at a later period became an oppressive oligarchy. Here, too, we find the notion, so universally prevalent among the ancients, of the state's supremacy over individual citizens, carried out to its utmost extent of severity; for the state made, so to speak, the individual its bondsman, broke up domestic life almost entirely, and rendered free development impossible.

III. As long as an enthusiastic belief in the sanctity of the state, and a stern resolve to obey its laws and customs, reigned in the hearts of the people, Sparta flourished, and the unity and concentrated power of its constitution insured it victory over other nations; but the unnatural fetters in which individual freedom was bound by the constitution could not stand the test of time; and an immoderate striving after power and riches ensued, which prepared the way for the ruin and dissolution of the Spartan commonwealth.

10. *Points of Union for the whole of Greece—Festivals and Oracles.*

I. Greece possessed a system of commonwealths, each of which was recognized by the rest; but for the continuance of this recognition there existed no guarantee or written instrument, so that

there was often nothing but an *opposition of interests* to restrain the violent encroachments of the more powerful. Still, though these little states were not only independent of each other, but often even on terms of hostility, the different classes found a band of union in their general name of *Hellenes* (Ἕλληνες), the consciousness of their descent from the same ancestor, and a common language, religion, and manners; at all events, this nationality was distinctly understood when they were opposed to foreigners or barbarians.

II. The offspring of this consciousness was a sort of Grecian international law, founded, however, on no distinct enactment, and liable to be set aside at any time by the stronger party. Examples of this international law may be found in the practice of sending ambassadors to each other before war was proclaimed, sometimes with authority to refer the dispute to arbitration; in the proclamation of war by heralds, whose persons were held sacred and inviolable; in the respect paid, during the continuance of hostilities, to temples, consecrated ground, and priests; in the ransom of prisoners; and in the strictness with which the duties of private as well as public hospitality were observed.

III. To the religious institutions, by which this feeling of national unity was sustained, belonged their great feasts, and the *Olympic*, *Pythian*, *Nemean*, and *Isthmian Games*, which, from mere local observances, attained by degrees to the rank of national solemnities, and were attended by delegations from all the states, as well as by crowds of people from every part of Greece. Under this head we must also class the *Oracles*, especially that of Delphi, which enjoyed great reputation and influence in all the Grecian states.

11. *Points of Union for particular portions of Greece—The Amphictions, local Confederations, Symmachiæ, Hegemonia.*

I. We find that smaller portions of Greece were also united by religion, inasmuch as their feasts and common worship produced a closer relation (Amphictionia) to one another, by means of which the observance of certain principles of international law was inculcated.

II. Between the inhabitants of the same district we often meet with a sort of confederation, as in Bœotia; but the struggles of some individual states for supremacy, and the resistance of others, often weakened, or even broke up, these alliances. Two of these leagues, the Achæan and Ætolian, obtained a temporary influence toward the end of Grecian independence.

III. We read also of alliances called *Symmachiæ*, generally be-

tween nations of the same race, which were headed by the most powerful members of the confederacy; thus, for example, Sparta took the command of the confederate Greek tribes in the Persian war. This was called enjoying the *Hegemony*, or, in other words, taking the lead. So also Athens, at a later period, was at the head of most of the Ionic states; but even these alliances were generally disturbed by the haughtiness and selfishness with which the weaker party were treated by the more powerful.

12. *Colonies.*

I. The Greek passion for separation and independence displayed itself in the peculiar relations which subsisted between their colonies and the mother country. Instead of clinging, as the Roman colonists did, to the state which sent them out, the Greek settlers always took the earliest opportunity of asserting their independence, and breaking off all connection, except in matters of religion, with the parent commonwealth.

II. In another point of view, also, these colonies gave proof of the vigor and intellectual superiority of the Hellenic race; for in the midst of barbarians, by whom they were surrounded on every side, they still preserved, and even spread, their native language and national peculiarities.

June 18. 1852.

I.

HEROIC AGE.

THE HEROIC AGE.

CHAPTER I.

MEANING OF THE TERM.

I. By the *Heroic Age* we generally understand the period which elapsed between the first immigration of the Hellenes into Thessaly, and the expedition of the Dorians and Heraclidæ into the Peloponnesus, in the year B.C. 1104.

II. The most distinguished representatives of this period are Bellerophon, Perseus, Hercules, Theseus, Jason, and the other heroes of the Argonautic expedition, with the warriors who fought under the walls of Thebes and Troy. The accounts of this period are a medley of historical notices and mythical legends, which it is often impossible to separate from one another.

III. The epoch most familiar to us, as regards both the public and private life of the Greeks, is that of the Trojan war (B.C. 1184). The poems from which we derive this knowledge were, it is true, composed somewhat later than the events recorded by them, and have not come down to us in their original form; still they bear the stamp of truth and harmony so deeply impressed, that we may safely admit them as real representatives of the times which they describe.

CHAPTER II.

CIVILIZATION.

I. In those early times, fierceness and brutality, war and robbery, reigned almost without control. These evils were combated, indeed, by such heroes as Minos (the putter-down of piracy), Theseus, and Hercules; but, even at the period of the Trojan war, civilization was still in its infancy. Violence in action and coarseness in speech had by no means disappeared; piratical expeditions and forages into neighboring states (for the purpose generally of driving off their cattle), with the usual reprisals on the part of the plundered, were of

perpetual occurrence; nor were murder and sanguinary revenge by any means uncommon.

II. On the other hand, traces of a milder and more humane spirit are not wanting. The influence of religion was felt in various shapes; men looked upon the persons of heralds as sacred, and respected leagues and armistices. To set against the fierce outbreaks of passion, many instances may be produced of self-control, moderation, and respect to the aged and experienced. Public opinion began to make itself respected, and the fear of public censure to have its effect on the powerful.

III. We meet with numerous examples of friendship, such as Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades; of kindly intercourse with old and faithful servants, as of Ulysses with Eumæus and Euryclēa, and of connubial and parental affection. The stranger, the necessitous, or the exile might depend on being hospitably received for the sake of Zeus (Jupiter), their protector; hence called Ζεὺς ξένιος and ἱκετήσιος. Connections of hospitality between ancestors were remembered and respected by their descendants. Strangers received a friendly welcome, and were asked no questions until they had partaken of the family meal. Presents were also given to them, called ξεινήϊα.[1]

IV. Minstrels (ἐρίηρες ἀοιδοί), as Phemius at Ithaca, and Demodŏcus among the Phæacians, enjoyed distinguished favor and respect,[2] for at a very early period they had learned to ascribe the outpourings of genius to divine inspiration (θεῖος, θέσπις ἀοιδός, θεὸς ὤπασε θέσπιν ἀοιδήν.[3]—θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἵμας παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν[4]). Sometimes, but more rarely, we read of heroes (as Achilles), or the people, raising a song.[5]

CHAPTER III.

THE STATE, AND ITS CONSTITUTION IN GENERAL.

I. Politics were yet in their infancy. The idea of one all-pervading political life not being yet developed, men's notions of a commonwealth, whether in its external relations to other states, or its internal arrangements, were wavering and undefined. Of any recognized rights of nations we find only a few feeble traces; for instance, in the inviolability of heralds.

II. The internal economy of the commonwealth was gradually

[1] *Il.*, ix., 197; xviii., 369; *Od.*, iii., 29, 69; iv., 20.
[2] *Od.*, viii., 472, *seqq.*
[3] *Od.*, viii., 498.
[4] *Hesiod., Theog.*, 94.
[5] *Il.*, i., 472; ix., 186.

developed after a model taken from private life. Thus the most ancient form of government existing even in the Heroic Ages was the patriarchal monarchy, which does not seem to have possessed any very distinct character, or to have defined very accurately the rights and duties either of prince or people.

III. We find, with the king, an aristocracy distinguished by their ability, or skill in the use of weapons, or property, with a pedigree derived by tradition from the gods; and, finally, a large body of free citizens. But the privileges of these three powers in the state were defined by no laws, and in many instances ran imperceptibly into one another.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KING.

I. The king (*ὁ βασιλεύς, ὁ ἄναξ*) was considered to hold a sacred office; for men looked upon the power of kings,[1] as well as their pedigree, as derived from the gods, and respected their persons as being under the immediate protection of Zeus (Jupiter) himself. Hence, in Homer, we have *διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες, διογενεῖς βασιλῆες*;[2] and in Hesiod, *ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες*.[3]

II. But the estimation in which the sovereign power was held depended also on personal qualifications, and was by no means secure against usurpation, as we find in the instances of Penelope's suitors and of Ægisthus. The form of government, however, was not always monarchical; at least, we read in Homer's catalogue of the ships, that of the nations there enumerated some had two leaders (as the Bœotians, Phocians, and Cretans); some three, with a commander-in-chief (as Argos,[4] and several cities in Argŏlis); and others four (as the Elēans).

III. Generally speaking, the throne was hereditary, but without any very definite settlement of the order of succession. In default of male heirs it might descend to a female, as in the instance of Helĕna. We have also frequent examples of partition,[5] or of alternate government, as in the case of Eteocles and Polynices, but never of joint government.

IV. The king commanded the army in time of war, administered justice in conjunction with the senate (whence the expressions *δικασπόλοι, θεμιστοπόλοι βασιλῆες*), and offered the public sacrifices,

[1] *Il.*, ix., 98.
[2] *Id.*, ii., 197.
[3] *Hes., Theog.*, 96.
[4] *Il.*, ii., 564-5.
[5] *Apollod.*, iii., 9, 1; xv., 1, &c.

although in other respects his office was distinct from the priesthood. Ill-defined as the boundaries between right and wrong were in individual cases, there was not wanting a general idea of the duties of kings, which displayed itself in complaints when their power was capriciously abused, and in praises of a paternal government.[1]

V. Their ensign of dignity was the sceptre (*σκῆπτρον*), a staff, which they always bore on public occasions. As the staff was used originally not merely to support the steps of the aged and infirm, but also as a weapon of defense and assault, the privilege of habitually carrying it became emblematic of station and authority. The kings were attended also by *κήρῦκες*, or heralds, and official servants.

VI. By reason of their descent, office, and personal bravery, the kings enjoyed various prerogatives (*τιμαί, γέρατα*), such as precedence at public assemblies and conferences; a separate portion of land (*τέμενος*); presents and tributes (*δῶρα, δωτῖναι, ϑέμιστες*); and the first choice of the booty taken in war, of which they also received a larger share than others.

CHAPTER V.

THE ARISTOCRACY AND THE PEOPLE.

1. *The Aristocracy.*

I. Between the king and the great body of the people stood the aristocracy. They were distinguished by the names of *ἥρωες, ἄριστοι, ἀριστῆες, ἔξοχοι ἄνδρες*. With reference to their dignity, they were also called *γέροντες* and *βασιλῆες*, and, on account of their share in the deliberations of the council or senate (*βουλή*), they had the title of king's counsellors (*βουληφόροι ἄνδρες*).

II. They took part in affairs of state, composed the flower of the army, and enjoyed, in consequence, peculiar distinctions (*γέρας, οἶνος γερούσιος*). Agamemnon had for his council the princes, who were sovereigns in their own lands; Priam had the Trojan *δημογέροντες*, or "elders of the people;" and Alcinöus the Phæacian *βασιλῆες*.

2. *The People.*

I. The mass of free burghers (*δῆμος, λαός* or *λαοί*) composed the general assembly of the people (*ἀγορή*). Their power, although unconfirmed by any distinct recognition of their privileges, was by no

[1] *Il.*, ii., 24; i., 231; xii., 310; *Od.*, iv., 630; ii., 234.

means without influence, nor was it ever safe to resist the open expression of public opinion.[1]

II. It does not seem, however, that the assemblies were ever convened for the express purpose of deciding questions, or at certain definite periods, but rather came together, as occasion required, to receive communications, or convey their wishes to the king as a guide for his conduct. No expression of dissent is mentioned, but simply of approbation;[2] still less does any individual seem to have ever possessed the power of coming forward on his own authority. Chryses[3] addresses himself, it is true, to all the Achæans, who express their approbation of his arguments. Agamemnon, nevertheless, in spite of this demonstration, decides the question himself, and that without any remonstrance from the assembly.

III. In the second book of the Iliad, Agamemnon pretends to consult the people on the subject of their return to Greece; but, although they eagerly embrace the proposal, we find the will of their prince carried into effect by means of persuasions and threats. Thersites, the only man who dared to express his opinion unreservedly, is roughly handled by Ulysses, to the great delight of the people. We read of classifications or sections of the people under the names of *φῦλα* and *φρῆτραι*.

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

I. The administration of justice was not directed by any fixed written laws (the expression *νόμος*, *law*, never occurs in Homer), but depended on certain maxims founded on experience and ancient custom (*δίκη* and *θέμις*), and was supposed to be under the especial protection of the gods, particularly of Zeus and Themis.[4]

II. The government seems to have concerned itself very little about private disputes, unless the parties themselves wished the matter to be decided publicly or by arbitration. In such cases, the more important questions were settled by the king, generally with the assistance of his Council of Elders (*βουλὴ γερόντων*), according to the rules of equity, or of some custom sanctioned by divine authority (*θέμιστες*). Most of these cases seem to have been claims of compensation for murders, or for injury to property. The murderer endeavored to propitiate the family of the murdered man by

[1] *Od.*, xiv., 239; xvi., 425.
[2] *Il.*, ii., 335.
[3] *Id.*, i., 15.
[4] *Il.*, i., 239; *Od.*, ii., 69.

submitting to a fine (ποινή),[1] but if he failed in arranging this, he escaped their vengeance by voluntary exile. The form of such a process is seen in Homer.[2]

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION.

I. The supernatural world of the Greeks, as its image was impressed on the minds of the people by the lively representations of Homer's poetry, was peopled with beings who exercised a control over nature, but were subject to human passions, and maintained a constant intercourse with mankind.

II. The means by which man approached the gods were *prayers* and *vows* (εὐχαί, εὐχωλή, λιταί); *libations* (σπονδαί); and *sacrifices* (θυσίαι). The offerings mentioned by Homer are limited to bulls and cows, sheep, goats, and swine. The animal must be without blemish (τέλειος), and one which had never labored for man. Sometimes the sacrifice consisted of numerous victims. The *hecatomb*, for instance, according to the common explanation, was an offering of a hundred beasts, though it subsequently meant also any solemn sacrifice at which several animals were slain. Thus one hecatomb mentioned in the Iliad consisted of twelve bulls,[3] and that vowed to the Sperchius of fifty sheep.[4]

III. The sacrificial beast had its horns sometimes gilded.[5] It was killed by cutting through the windpipe. When the sacrifice was to

[1] *Il.*, ix., 633. [2] *Id.*, xviii., 407. [3] *Id.*, vi., 115.
[4] *Id.*, xxiii., 46. [5] *Id.*, x., 294; *Od.*, iii., 438.

be offered to the Olympic gods, the head of the animal was drawn back heavenward, as is seen in the wood-cut on the opposite page. When to the gods of the lower world, to heroes, or to the dead, it was drawn downward, and the knife was applied to the throat from beneath.[1] The blood was caught in a bowl called *ἀμνίον*, and was, as it were, the first libation, a sort of sanctification by blood. The head of the victim, before it was killed, was in most cases strewed with roasted barley-meal (*οὐλόχυτα* or *οὐλοχύται*)[2] mixed with salt, and was besprinkled with holy water. The hair from the forehead, ears, &c. (*ἀπαρχαί*), was also cut off and thrown into the flames.[3] The persons who offered the sacrifice generally wore garlands around their heads, and sometimes also carried them in their hands, and before they touched any thing belonging to the sacrifice they washed their hands in water. The victim itself was likewise adorned with garlands.

IV. Each god had his favorite animals which he liked best as sacrifices; but it may be considered as a general rule, that those animals which were sacred to a god were not sacrificed to him, though horses were offered to Poseidon notwithstanding this usage.[4] In the earlier times it appears to have been the general custom to burn the whole victim (*ὁλοκαυτεῖν*) upon the altar, and the same was in some cases also observed in later times, and more especially in sacrifices to gods of the lower world, and such as were offered to atone for some crime that had been committed. But as early as the time of Homer it was the almost general practice to burn only the legs (*μηροί, μηρία, μῆρα*) inclosed in fat, and certain parts of the intestines, while the remaining portions of the victim were consumed at a festive meal. While the flesh was burning upon the altar, wine and incense were thrown upon it, and prayers and music accompanied the solemnity.

V. Oaths also were confirmed by a sacrifice, as indicated by the Homeric *ὅρκια τάμνειν*.[5] The term *ὅρκιον*, however, though often used synonymously with *ὅρκος*, signifies, more strictly, a compact ratified by an oath, and *ὅρκια τάμνειν* is properly to make a compact with oaths and sacrifice; whence, through the frequent practice of sacrificing on such occasions, it came that *ὅρκιον* was sometimes used for the victim itself.[6] Other gifts, besides sacrifices, were also presented to the gods as expiatory or thank-offerings (*δῶρα, ἀγάλματα, ϑύεα*); Hecuba, for instance,[7] offered a *πέπλος* to Athene (Minerva).

[1] *Eustath. ad Il.*, i., 459.
[2] *Il.*, i., 458, *seqq.* Comp. *Od.*, iii., 440.
[3] *Il.*, xix., 254; *Od.*, xiv., 422.
[4] *Pausan.*, viii., 7, 2.
[5] *Il.*, iii., 105.
[6] *Id.*, iii., 245.
[7] *Id.*, vi., 293.

VI. In the historical times of Greece we find various customs in the worship of several gods, and in several parts of Greece, which can only be accounted for by supposing that they were introduced as substitutes for human sacrifices. In other cases, where civilization had shown less of its softening influences, human sacrifices remained customary throughout the historical periods of Greece, and down to the time of the emperors.[1] With these few exceptions, however, human sacrifices had ceased in the historical ages of Greece. Owing to the influences of civilization, in many cases animals were substituted for human beings, in others a few drops of human blood were thought sufficient to propitiate the gods.[2] The custom of sacrificing human life to the gods arose undoubtedly from the belief, which under different forms has manifested itself at all times and in all nations, that the nobler the sacrifice and the dearer to its possessor, the more pleasing it would be to the gods.

CHAPTER VIII.

TEMPLES—PRIESTS AND DIVINERS—ORACLES.

I. The objects employed in the worship of the gods were *temples* (*νηός, δόμος*), consecrated *groves* or inclosures (*τέμενος*), and altars (*βωμός*). In the temple of Apollo, on the Acropolis of Troy, we hear of an *ἄδυτον*, and in the temple of Athene (Minerva) on the same hill, there was a statue of the goddess. Worship was performed by the master of the family, and in the case of public sacrifices by leaders or kings.

II. There were, however, priests especially set apart for the service of certain gods or temples (*ἱερῆες, ἀρητῆρες, θυοσκόοι*), as Chryses, the priest of Apollo. Mention is also made of diviners and wizards (*μάντιες, θεοπρόποι*), who foretold future events from signs (*τέρατα, σήματα*), such as thunder and lightning; or from the song and flight of birds, especially birds of prey (*οἰωνοπόλοι, οἰωνισταί*); or from dreams (*ὀνειροπόλοι*).

III. We do not hear, either in Greece or in Rome, of any class of priests on whom it was incumbent to instruct the people respecting the nature and principles of religion. Of preaching there is not the slightest trace. Religion with the ancients was a thing which was

[1] Compare *Pausan.*, viii., 2, 1; *Theophrast. ap. Porphyr., de Abstin.*, ii., 27; *Plut., Quæst. Gr.*, 39; *Strab.*, x., p. 452; *Plut., Themist.*, 13; *Arist.*, 11; *Pelop.*, 21.

[2] *Pausan.*, viii., 23, 1; ix., 8, 1.

handed down by tradition from father to son, and consisted in the proper performance of certain rites and ceremonies.

IV. With regard to the subject of divination, it may be remarked, that the belief that the decrees of the divine will were occasionally revealed by the deity himself, or could be discovered by certain individuals, is one which the classical nations of antiquity had, in common with many other nations, before the attainment of a certain degree of intellectual culture. The seers or μάντεις, who, under the direct influence of the gods, and chiefly that of Apollo, announced the future, seem originally to have been connected with certain places where oracles were given; but in subsequent times they formed a distinct class of persons, independent of any locality; one of them is Calchas, in the Homeric poems. The art of interpreting dreams, which had probably been introduced into Europe from Asia, where it is still a universal practice, seems in the Homeric age to have been held in high esteem; for dreams were said to be sent by Zeus (Jupiter).[1]

V. At a very early period we find traces of certain sacerdotal families, in which the priestly office was hereditary. The Greek priests, however, never formed one organized body, and their insulation was not merely an effect of the political divisions of their country: even within the same state they were not incorporated in any kind of hierarchy, and they had neither means nor motives for entering into voluntary associations. But though, as an order, the priesthood had no bond of union, and therefore no engine of ambition at its command, the several local corporations comprised in it were, perhaps, on that very account, animated with the more lively consciousness of their peculiar character and interest. The ministers, who were permanently attached to a temple, felt their honors to be intimately connected with its renown, and many still more solid advantages often flowed from the control of a much-frequented shrine.[2]

VI. The most important branch of the Greek religion, that which, more than any other, affected the political institutions, the history and manners of the nation, grew out of the belief that man is enabled, by the divine favor, to obtain a knowledge of futurity which his natural faculties can not reach. Hence we find, at a very early period, mention made of oracles. The most ancient and celebrated were those at Dodona and Delphi, the former belonging to Jove, the latter to Apollo. The political causes which raised the oracle of

[1] *Hom., Il.*, i., 63; ii., *init.*; *Od.*, iv., 841; xix., 457.

[2] *Thirlwall's Greece*, vol. i., p. 230, 8vo ed.

Apollo at Delphi to its high pre-eminence over all similar institutions, belongs to a later period, but Homer describes it as already renowned and wealthy before the Trojan war.[1]

CHAPTER IX.

WAR—OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE ARMS.

I. The weapons of the old rough times were stones and clubs, the latter of which were wielded by Hercules and Orion. The club (*κορύνη*) was never employed by Homer's heroes, and is alluded to in the Iliad only on one occasion, where Nestor speaks of his having fought, when a youth, with a warrior who was armed with an iron club (*σιδηρείῃ κορύνῃ*).[2] Stones (*χερμάδια*) were used occasionally in the Homeric conflicts, and usually of great size.

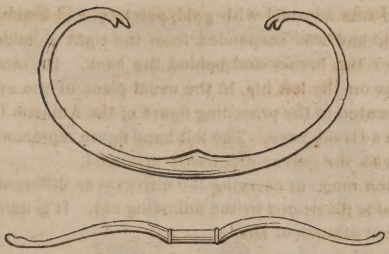
II. Their offensive weapons were, 1. The *bow* and *arrow* (*τόξον, βιός, ἰός, ὀϊστός*). 2. The *spear* (*δόρυ, ἔγχος, παλτόν*). 3. The *sword* (*ξίφος, ἀορ, φάσγανον*). 4. The *battle-axe* (*ἀξίνη, πέλεκυς*). The *sling* (*σφενδόνη*) is not mentioned in the Iliad; for in the only passage where the word *σφενδόνη* occurs, it is used in its original signification of a bandage.[3]

III. The defensive arms were, 1. The *helmet* (*κόρυς, κυνέη, πήληξ*). 2. The *cuirass* (*θώρηξ*). 3. *Greaves* (*κνημῖδες*). 4. The *shield* (*σάκος, ἀσπίς*). The metal usually employed for armor was bronze or copper. Iron was used for axes: silver, polished steel, and tin, to ornament their arms. The complete equipment of a warrior was termed *τεύχεα*, and also *ὅπλα* and *ἔντεα*.

IV. We will now proceed to give a more detailed account of the offensive and defensive arms of the Heroic times.

1. The *bow* and *arrow*. The *bow* (*τόξον, βιός*) is one of the most ancient of all weapons, but is characteristic of Asia rather than of Europe. The Scythians and Parthians were the most celebrated archers in the East, and among the Greeks the Cretans. The form of the Scythian and Parthian bow differed from that of the Greeks. The former was in the shape of a half moon,[4] and is shown in the upper figure at the head of the opposite page. The next one, on the other hand, represents the usual form of the Grecian bow, which had a double curvature, consisting of two curved portions, united in the middle by a kind of handle called *πῆχυς*. According to the description in Homer,[5] the bow was made of two pieces of horn,

[1] *Thirlwall*, i., p. 232. [2] *Il.*, vii., 138. [3] *Id.*, xiii., 599.
[4] *Amm. Marc.*, xxii., 8. [5] *Il.*, iv., 105, *seqq.*



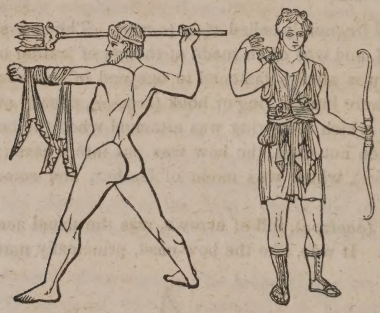
and is hence frequently called *κέρας* (*cornu*). The bow-string (*νευρά*) was twisted, and was often made of thongs of leather or hide (*νεῦρα βόεια*). It was always fastened to one end of the bow, and at the other end there hung a ring or hook (*κορώνη*), usually made of metal (*χρυσέη*), to which the string was attached when the bow was to be used. When not used, the bow was put into a case (*τοξοθήκη*, *φαρέτρη*, *ωρυτός*, *corytus*), which was made of leather, and sometimes ornamented.[1]

A quiver (*φαρέτρα*), full of arrows, was the usual accompaniment of the bow. It was, like the bow-case, principally made of leather

[1] *Od.*, xxi., 54.

or hide, and was adorned with gold, painting, and braiding. It had a lid (πῶμα),[1] and was suspended from the right shoulder by a belt passing over the breast and behind the back. Its most common position was on the left hip, in the usual place of the sword, and it is so represented in the preceding figure of the Amazon Dinomache, copied from a Greek vase. The left-hand figure represents an Asiatic archer, with the quiver differently arranged.

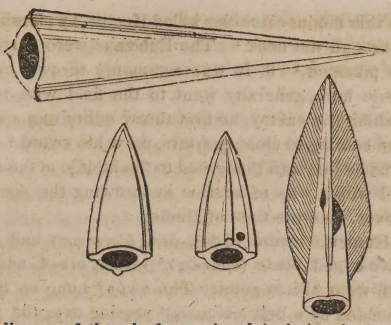
The Cretan mode of carrying the quiver was different from both of these, and is illustrated by the following cut. It is uniformly seen in the ancient statues of Diana.



The *arrow* (ἰός, ὀϊστός) may be regarded as consisting of three parts, the head or point, the shaft, and the feather. The arrows used by the early Greeks were commonly fitted with bronze heads, as is expressed by the epithet χαλκήρης, "fitted with bronze," which Homer applies to an arrow.[2] Another Homeric epithet, "three-tongued" (τριγλώχιν),[3] is illustrated by the forms of the arrow-heads, all of bronze, which are represented in the opposite wood-cut. That which lies horizontally was found at Persepolis. The two smallest, one of which shows a rivet-hole at the side for fastening it to the shaft, are from the Plain of Marathon. The fourth specimen was also found in Attica.

The use of barbed and poisoned arrows is always represented by the Greeks and Romans as the characteristic of barbarous nations. When Ulysses wishes to have recourse to this insidious practice, he is obliged to apply to the piratical Taphians,[4] and the classical authors who mention it do so in terms of condemnation.

[1] *Il.*, iv., 116; *Od.*, ix., 314.
[2] *Id.*, xiii., 650, 662.
[3] *Id.*, v., 393.
[4] *Od.*, i., 261.



The excellence of the shaft consisted in being long, and at the same time straight, and, if it was made of light wood, in being well polished.[1] But it often consisted of a smooth cane or reed. In the bottom of the arrow was cut a notch (*γλυφίς*)[2] for fixing it upon the string. The feathers are shown on ancient monuments of all kinds, and hence the *πτερόεντες ὀϊστοί*,[3] "winged arrows," of Homer. The arrows of Hercules are said to have been feathered from the wings of a black eagle.[4]

2. The *spear* (*δόρυ, ἔγχος, παλτόν*) is defined by Homer *δόρυ χαλκῆρες*,[5] "a pole fitted with bronze," and *δόρυ χαλκοβαρές*,[6] "a pole heavy with bronze." The bronze, for which iron was afterward substituted, was indispensable to form the point (*αἰχμή, ἀκωκή*) of the spear. Each of these two essential parts is often put for the whole, so that a spear is called *δόρυ, δοράτιον*, and *αἰχμή*. Even the more special term *μελία*, meaning properly an ash-tree, is used in the same manner, because the pole of the spear was often the stem of a young ash stripped of its bark and polished.[7] The bottom of the spear was often inclosed in a pointed cap of bronze, called by Homer and other Ionic writers *σαυρωτήρ*,[8] and in Attic or common Greek *στύραξ*. By forcing this into the ground the spear was fixed erect. A well-finished spear was kept in a case (*δορατοθήκη*), which, on account of its form, is called by Homer "a pipe" (*σύριγξ*).[9] The spear was used as a weapon of attack in three different ways: 1. It was thrown from catapults and other engines. This, however, has reference to post-Homeric times. 2. It was thrust forward as

[1] *Hes., Scut.*, 133. [2] *Il.*, iv., 122; *Od.*, xxi., 419. [3] *Id.*, v., 171.
[4] *Hes., l. c.* [5] *Il.*, vi., 3. [6] *Od.*, xi., 531.
[7] *Il.*, xix., 390; xx., 277; *Od.*, xxii., 359. [8] *Il.*, x., 153; *Herod.*, vii., 40.
[9] *Il.*, xix., 387.

a pike. In this manner Achilles killed Hector, by piercing him with his spear through the neck.[1] The Eubœans were particularly celebrated as pikemen.[2] 3. It was commonly thrown by the hand. The Homeric hero generally went to the field with two spears.[3] On approaching the enemy, he first threw either one spear or both, and then, on coming to close quarters, drew his sword.[4] The spear frequently had a leathern thong tied to the middle of the shaft, called *ἀγκύλη*, and which was of service in throwing the spear. It was later, however, than the time of Homer.

3. The Homeric sword (*ξίφος*, *ἄορ*, *φάσγανον*) had generally a straight, two-edged blade (*ἄμφηκες*),[5] rather broad, and nearly of equal width from hilt to point. The sword hung on the left side, being suspended by a belt (*τελαμών*)[6] passing over the right shoulder, and extending obliquely along the breast, as is seen in the following cut from a cameo in the Florentine Museum.

In the Homeric times the Greeks also used a belt to support the shield, and this second belt lay over the other, and was larger and broader than it;[7] but as this shield-belt was found inconvenient, it was superseded by the invention of the Carian *ὄχανον*, hereafter to be described. The very early disuse of the shield-belt accounts for the fact that this part of the ancient armor is never exhibited in paintings or sculpture. The belt was usually made of leather, but was ornamented with gold and silver, and on it subjects of ancient

[1] *Il.*, xxii., 326. [2] *Id.*, ii., 543. [3] *Id.*, iii., 18; x., 76; xii., 298.
[4] *Id.*, iii., 340; xvii., 530; xx., 273. [5] *Id.*, x., 256.
[6] *Id.*, vii., 304. [7] *Id.*, xiv., 404.

art were frequently embroidered or embossed. Hence we have in Homer the expressions *χρύσεος τελαμών*[1] and *φαεινὸς τελαμών*.[2] In times of the remotest antiquity swords were made of bronze, but afterward of iron.

The sword was sheathed in a scabbard (*κολεός, κουλεός*),[3] adorned sometimes with silver (*κουλεὸς ἀργύρεος*),[4] at other times with laminæ of sawn ivory (*νεοπρίστου ἐλέφαντος*).[5] The hilt or handle (*κώπη*)[6] was, for the most part, of silver, or adorned with silver ornaments like studs (*ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον*).[7] In the Heroic ages the Greeks sometimes wore a dagger (*μάχαιρα*) suspended by the sword, on the left side of the body, and used it on all occasions instead of a knife.[8]

4. The *axe* (*ἀξίνη, πέλεκυς*) was either made with a single edge, or with a blade or head on each side of the haft, this latter kind being denominated *πέλεκυς διστόμος* or *ἀμφιστόμος*.[9] The axe was one of the earliest weapons of attack.[10] In the following cut, representing Æneas bearing away Anchises and followed by Ascanius, the latter holds a battle-axe in his hand.

5. The *helmet* (*κόρυς, κυνέη, πήληξ*) was originally made of skin or leather, whence is supposed to have arisen its appellation of *κυνέη*, meaning properly a helmet of dog-skin, but applied to caps or helmets made of the hide of other animals (*ταυρείη, κτιδέη*,[11] *αἰγείη*),[12] and even to those which were entirely of bronze or iron (*πάγχαλ-*

[1] *Od.*, xi., 610.
[2] *Il.*, xii., 401.
[3] *Id.*, i., 194; iii., 272; xii., 191.
[4] *Id.*, xi., 31.
[5] *Od.*, viii., 404.
[6] *Il.*, i., 219; *Od.*, viii., 403.
[7] *Il.*, ii., 45; xiv., 405.
[8] *Id.*, iii., 271; *Athen.*, vi., p. 232, c.
[9] *Agathias, Hist.*, ii., 5, p. 73, *seqq.*
[10] *Il.*, xv., 711.
[11] *Id.*, x., 258, 235.
[12] *Od.*, xxiv., 230.

κος).[1] The leathern basis of the helmet was also very commonly strengthened and adorned by the addition of either bronze or gold, which is expressed by such epithets as *χαλκήρης, εὔχαλκος, χρυσείη*. The helmet, especially that of skin or leather, was sometimes a mere cap conformed to the shape of the head, without either crest or any other ornament (*ἀφαλόν τε καὶ ἄλοφον*).[2]

The additions by which the external appearance of the helmet was varied, and which served both for ornament and protection, were the following:

(A.) Bosses or plates, proceeding either from the top (*φάλος*)[3] or the sides, and varying in number from one to four (*ἀμφίφαλος, δίφαλος,*[4] *τετράφαλος*).[5] It is, however, very doubtful what part of the helmet the *φάλος* was. Buttmann thought that it was what was afterward called the *κῶνος*, that is, a metal ridge in which the plume was placed; but others[6] maintain that the *φάλος* was the shade or forepiece of the helmet, and that an *ἀμφίφαλος* helmet was one that had a like projection behind and before.

(B.) The helmet thus adorned was very commonly surmounted by a crest (*λόφος*),[7] which was often of horse hair (*ἱππουρις, ἱπποδάσεια*),[8] and made so as to look imposing and terrible[9] as well as handsome. The helmet often had two or even three crests.

(C.) Two cheek-pieces (*παραγναθίδες*),[10] which were attached to the helmet by hinges, so as to be lifted up and down. They had buttons or ties at their extremities for fastening the helmet on the head.

(D.) The beaver, or visor, a peculiar form of which is supposed to have been the *αὐλῶπις τρυφάλεια*,[11] that is, the perforated beaver.

The five following helmets are selected from antique gems:

1 *Od.*, xviii., 377. 2 *Il.*, x., 358. 3 *Id.*, iii., 362. 4 *Id.*, v., 743; xi., 41.
5 *Id.*, xii., 384. 6 *Liddell and Scott, Lex., s. v.*, p. 1591, *ed. Drisl.*
7 *Il.*, xxii., 316. 8 *Hom., l. c.* 9 *Il.*, iii., 337.
10 *Eustath. in Il.*, v., 743. 11 *Il.*, xi., 353.

6. The *cuirass* (θώρηξ, θώραξ) commonly worn by the Greeks and Romans, more especially in the earlier ages, was called θώρηξ (θώραξ) στάδιος or στατός, because, when placed upon the ground on its lower edge, it stood erect. It consisted principally of the two γύαλα, namely, the breast-plate, made of hard leather or of bronze, iron, or sometimes the more precious metals, which covered the breast and abdomen,[1] and of the corresponding plate which covered the back.[2] Both these pieces were adapted to the form of the body. The two plates were united on the right side of the body by two hinges. On the other side, and sometimes even on both sides, they were fastened by means of buckles.

The two figures here introduced are designed to show the usual difference of form and appearance between the antique Greek thorax and that worn by the Roman emperors and generals. The right-hand figure is that of a Greek warrior; the figure on the left is taken from a marble statue of Caligula found at Gabii.[3] The figure of the warrior is from a fictile vase.

[1] *Il.*, v., 99; xiii., 507, 587; xvii., 314.
[2] *Id.*, xv., 530.
[3] *Visconti, Mon. Gab.*, No. 38.

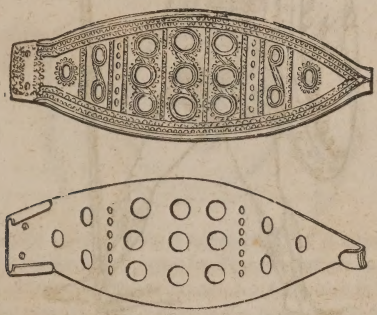
The breast-plate and the back-plate were further connected together by leathern straps passing over the shoulders, and fastened in front by means of buttons or of ribbons tied in a bow. In the last wood-cut both of the connecting ribbons in the right-hand figure are tied to a ring over the navel. The breast-plate of Caligula has a ring over each breast, designed to fulfill the same purpose. Bands of metal often supplied the place of the leathern straps, or else covered them, so as to become very ornamental, being terminated by a lion's head, or some other suitable figure appearing on each side of the breast. The most beautiful specimens of enriched bronzed shoulder-bands now in existence are those which were found A.D. 1820, near the River Siris in Southern Italy,[1] and of which the following is a representation.

Cuirasses of linen were also used at an early period, the linen being several times folded for the purpose; but they were considered a much less effectual defense than those made of metal. Of Grecian cuirasses the Attic were accounted in post-Homeric times the best and most beautiful.[2] The cuirass was worn universally by the heavy-armed infantry and by the horsemen, except that Alexander the Great gave to the less brave of his soldiers breast-plates only, in order that the defenseless state of their backs might diminish their propensity to flight.[3] These were called half cuirasses (*ἡμιθωράκια*).

In connection with the cuirass, mention must be made of the *zone* or *girdle* (*ζώνη*, *ζωστήρ*), and of the *mitra* (*μίτρα*), or brazen belt below this. The *ζωστήρ* is mentioned by Homer on several occasions,[4] and seems to have been a constituent part of the cuirass, serving to fasten it by means of a buckle, and also affording an additional protection to the body, and having a short kind of petticoat attached to

[1] *Bröndsted, Bronzes of Siris, Lond.*, 1836. [2] *Ælian, V. H.*, iii., 24.
[3] *Polyæn.*, iv., 3, 13. [4] *Il.*, iv., 135; v., 539; x., 77; xi., 236.

it, as is shown in the figure of the Greek warrior on page 43. In consequence of the use of the girdle in fastening on the armor, *ζώννυσθαι* or *ζώσασθαι* meant to *arm one's self*.[1] As the cuirass, however, did not descend low enough to secure that part of the body which was covered by the ornamental kilt or petticoat, to supply this defect was the design of the *mitra*. This was a brazen belt, lined probably on the inside with leather, and stuffed with wool, which was worn next to the body,[2] so as to cover the lower part of the abdomen. The annexed wood-cut shows the outside and inside of the bronze plate of a mitra, one foot long. At one end are two holes for fastening the strap which went behind the body, and at the other end a hook, fitted probably to a ring, which was attached to the strap.[3]



Homer describes in various passages[4] the entire suit of armor of some of his greatest warriors, and we observe that it consisted of the same portions which were used by the Greek soldiers ever after. Moreover, the order of putting them on is always the same, and we will give it here, as it will serve also for a recapitulation of what has been stated under the present head.

The heavy-armed warrior, then, having already a tunic round his body, and preparing for combat, puts on, *first*, his greaves (*κνημῖδες*); *secondly*, his cuirass (*θώρηξ*), to which belonged the mitra (*μίτρα*, *μίτρη*) underneath, and the zone or girdle (*ζώνη*, *ζωστήρ*) above; *thirdly*, his sword (*ξίφος*), hung on the left side of his body by means of a belt which passed over the right shoulder; *fourthly*, the large round shield (*σάκος*, *ἀσπίς*), supported in the same manner; *fifthly*,

[1] *Il.*, xi., 15. [2] *Id.*, iv., 137, 187; v., 707, 857; *Schol. in Il.*, iv., 187.
[3] *Bronzes of Siris*, p. 42.
[4] *Il.*, iii., 328, *seqq.*; iv., 132, *seqq.*; xi., 15, *seqq.*; xvi., 130, *seqq.*; xix., 364, *seqq.*

his helmet (*κόρυς, κυνέη*) ; *sixthly* and lastly, he took his spear (*ἔγχος, δόρυ*), or, in many cases, two spears (*δοῦρε δύω*). The annexed wood-cut exhibits an Homeric warrior fully attired for battle.

7. *Greaves* (*κνημῖδες*) were made of bronze,[1] of brass,[2] of tin,[3] or of silver and gold,[4] with a thin lining probably of leather, felt, or cloth. Another method of fitting them to the leg, so as not to hurt it, was by the interposition of a kind of sponge, which Aristotle describes as remarkable for thinness, density, and firmness. The greaves, lined with these materials, as they were fitted with great exactness to the leg, probably required, in many cases, no other fastenings than their own elasticity. Often, nevertheless, they were further secured by two straps. That the Greeks took great delight in handsome and convenient greaves may be inferred from the epithet *εὐκνημῖδες*, as used by Homer, and from his minuteness in describing some of their parts, especially the ankle rings, which were sometimes of silver.[5] The following wood-cut will give some idea

[1] *Alcæus, Frag.* 1., *ed. Matth.* [2] *Hes., Scut.*, 122. [3] *Il.*, xviii., 612; xxi., 592.
[4] *Virg., Æn.*, vii., 634; viii., 624. [5] *Il.*, iii., 381; xi., 18.

of the ancient greaves. The lower portion of it represents the interior of a bronze shield, and a pair of bronze greaves found in the tomb of an Etruscan warrior.

8. The *shield* (*σάκος*, *ἀσπίς*) was originally of a circular form, and is said to have been first used by Proetus and Acrisius of Argos,[1] whence it is called by Virgil *clipeus Argolicus*, and is likened to the sun. With this we may compare the language of Homer, *ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' ἐΐσην*,[2] and *ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους*.[3]

The shield used by the Homeric heroes was large enough to cover the whole man. It was sometimes made of osiers twisted together, called *ἰτέα*, or of wood. The wood or wicker was then covered over with ox hides of several folds deep, and finally bound round the edge with metal.[4] The outer rim was termed *ἀντυξ*,[5] *ἴτυς*,[6] *περιφέρεια*, or *κύκλος*.[7] In the centre was a projection called *ὀμφαλός* or *μεσομφάλιον* (the Latin *umbo*), which served as a sort of weapon by itself, or caused the missiles of the enemy to glance off from the shield. It is seen in the following wood-cut from the column of Trajan. A spike or some other prominent excrescence was sometimes placed upon the *ὀμφαλός*, which was called *ἐπομφάλιον*.

[1] *Pausan.*, ii., 25, 6.
[2] *Il.*, iii., 347; v., 453.
[3] *Id.*, xiv., 428.
[4] *Id.*, xii., 295.
[5] *Id.*, xviii., 479.
[6] *Eur.*, *Troad.*, 1205.
[7] *Il.*, xi., 33.

In the Homeric times, the Greeks used a belt to support the shield, as we have already remarked; but this custom was subsequently discontinued in consequence of its great inconvenience, and the following method was adopted in its stead. A band of metal, wood, or leather, termed *κανών*, was placed across the inside from rim to rim, like the diameter of a circle, to which were affixed a number of small iron bars, crossing each other somewhat in the form of the letter X, which met the arm below the inner bend of the elbow joint, and served to steady the orb. This apparatus, which is said to have been invented by the Carians,[1] was termed *ὄχανον* or *ὀχάνη*. Around the inner edge ran a leather thong, termed *πόρπαξ*, fixed by nails at certain distances, so that it formed a succession of loops all round, which the warrior grasped with his hand.[2] The wood-cut at the head of the opposite page will explain both the *πόρπαξ* and the *ὄχανον*.

At the close of a war, it was customary for the Greeks to suspend their shields in the temples, when the *πόρπακες* were taken off, in order to render them unserviceable in case of any sudden or popular outbreak. The *ἀσπίς* was carried by the heavy-armed men (*ὁπλῖται*) during the historical times of Greece, and is opposed to the lighter *πέλτη* and *γέῤῥον*.

[1] *Herod.*, i., 171.

[2] *Eurip., Hel.*, 1396.

CHAPTER X.

THE ARMY—THE BATTLE.

I. The earliest notices which we possess of the military art among the Greeks are those contained in the Homeric poems. Warlike undertakings before the time described in them can have been little else than predatory inroads (*βοηλασίαι*).[1] A collection of warriors, exhibiting less of organization and discipline than we see depicted in the Grecian troops before Troy, would hardly deserve the name of an army. The organization which we see there, such as it was, arose, not from any formative system, but naturally, out of the imperfect constitution of society in that age. Every freeman in those times was of course a soldier; but when all the members of a family were not needed to go upon an expedition under the command of their chieftain or king, those who were to go seem to have been selected by lot.[2]

II. As the confederated states, which are represented as taking part in the Trojan war, are united by scarcely any other bond than their participation in a common object, the different bodies of troops, led by their respective chieftains, are far from being united by a com-

[1] *Il.*, xi., 687. [2] *Id.*, x., 418.

mon discipline under the command-in-chief of Agamemnon. Each body obeys its own leader, and follows him to the conflict, or remains inactive, according as he chooses to mingle in the fight or not. Authority and obedience are regulated much more by the nature of the circumstances, or by the relative personal distinction of the chieftains, than by any law of military discipline. Agamemnon sometimes urges the chieftains to engage, not by command, but by taunts.[1]

III. Accordingly, nothing like the tactics or strategy of a regularly-disciplined army is to be traced in the Homeric descriptions of battles. Each chieftain, with his body of troops, acts for himself, without reference to the movements of the rest, except as these furnish occasion for a vigorous attack, or, when hard pressed, call for assistance from the common feeling of brotherhood in arms.

IV. The wide interval which, in the Homeric age, separated the noble or chieftain from the common freeman, appears in as marked a manner in military as in civil affairs. The former is distinguished by that superior skill and prowess in the use of his arms, which would naturally result from the constant practice of warlike exercises, for which his station gave him the leisure and the means. A single hero is able to put to flight a whole troop of common soldiers. The account of a battle consists almost entirely of descriptions of the single combats of chiefs on both sides; and the fortune of the day, when not overruled by the intervention of the gods, is decided by the individual valor of these heroes.

V. While the mass of the common soldiers were on foot, the chiefs rode in chariots, which usually contained two, one to drive and one to fight. In these they advanced against the antagonists whom they singled out for encounter, sometimes hurling their spears from their chariots, but more commonly alighting, as they drew near, and fighting on foot, making use of the chariot for pursuit or flight.

VI. The Greeks did not, like the ancient Britons and several nations of the East, use the chariot itself as an instrument of warfare. Cavalry was unknown at that time to the Greeks, and horsemanship but very rarely practiced; the ἱππῆες of Homer are the chieftains who ride in chariots. The chiefs are drawn up in the front of the battle array (πρόμαχοι, προμάχεσθαι),[2] and frequently the foot-soldiers seem to have done nothing but watch the single combats of their leaders, forming in two opposite parallel lines, somewhat answering to a ring (ἕρκος πολέμοιο), within which the more important single combats are fought. How they got the chariots out of the way when

[1] *Il.*, iv., 338, *seqq.*; 368, *seqq.*

[2] *Id.*, iv., 297.

the foot-soldiers came to close quarters, as in the fourth book of the Iliad,[1] and elsewhere, we are not informed.

VII. The most essential parts of the Homeric chariot, to consider which we will now digress for a moment, were the following:

(A.) The *antyx* (ἄντυξ) or rim. It rose in front of the chariot in a curved form, on which the reins might be hung.[2] It was often made double, as in the chariot of Juno (δοιαὶ δὲ περίδρομοι ἄντυγές εἰσι),[3] and being, moreover, thicker than the body to which it was attached, gave it both form and strength. A simple form of it is given in the annexed wood-cut.

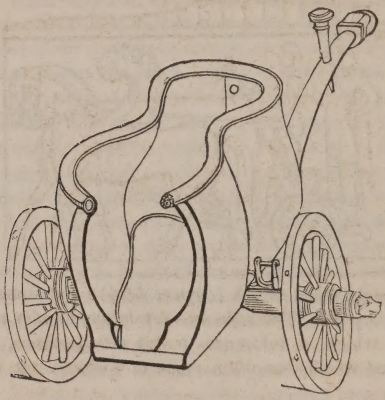
(B.) The *axle*, made of oak (φήγινος ἄξων),[4] and sometimes also of ilex, ash, or elm. The axle was firmly fixed under the body of the chariot, which, in reference to this circumstance, was called ὑπερτερία, and which was often made of wicker-work, inclosed by the ἄντυξ.[5]

(C.) The *wheels* (κύκλα, τροχοί) revolved upon the axle, as in modern carriages; and they were prevented from coming off by the insertion of pins (πρόναι, ἔμπολοι) into the extremities of the axle (ἀκραξονία). The parts of the wheel were as follows: (*a.*) The *nave*, called πλήμνη,[6] and also χοινικίς. (*β.*) The *spokes*, called κνῆμαι, literally, the *legs*. The number of spokes, of course, differed in different wheels. On one occasion we read of eight (ὀκτάκνημα).[7] (*γ.*) The *felly* (ἴτυς).[8] This was commonly made of some flexible and elastic wood, such as poplar,[9] or the wild fig, which was also used for the rim of the chariot. Heat was applied to assist in producing the requisite curvature.[10] The felly was, however, composed of separate pieces, called arcs (ἀψῖδες), which Hesiod[11] seems to

[1] *Il.*, iv. a. [2] *Id.*, v., 262, 322. [3] *Id.*, v., 728. [4] *Id.*, v., 838.
[5] *Id.*, xxiii., 335, 436. [6] *Id.*, v., 726. [7] *Id.*, v., 723.
[8] *Id.*, v., 724. [9] *Id.*, iv., 482. [10] *Id.*, xxi., 37. [11] *Op. et Dies*, 426.

recommend should be four in number. (δ.) The *tire* (ἐπίσωτρον). Homer[1] describes the chariot of Juno as having a tire of bronze upon a golden felly, thus placing the harder metal in a position to resist friction, and to protect the softer.

(D.) The *pole* (ῥυμός) was firmly fixed at its lower extremity to the axle; and at the other end (ἀκροῤῥύμιον) the pole was attached to the yoke either by a pin (ἔμβολος), as shown in the chariot given below, or by the use of ropes and bands. All the parts now enumerated are seen in an ancient chariot preserved in the Vatican, a representation of which is given in the following wood-cut.



The chariot was adapted to carry two persons, as already remarked, and on this account was called in Greek δίφρος (i. e., διφόρος). One of the two was, of course, the driver. He was called ἡνίοχος, because he held the reins, and his companion παραιβάτης, from going by his side or near him. Though in all respects superior, the παραιβάτης was often obliged to place himself behind the ἡνίοχος. On the other hand, a person of the highest rank might drive his own chariot, and then an inferior might be his παραιβάτης, as when Nestor conveyed Machaon (πὰρ δὲ Μαχάων βαῖνε).[2] In such cases a kindness or even a compliment was conferred by the driver on him whom he conveyed.

The Homeric chariots, as represented on bass-reliefs and fictile vases, were exceedingly light, the body often consisting of little besides a rim fastened to the bottom and to the axle. Thus we find

[1] *Il.*, v., 725. [2] *Id.*, xi., 512, 517.

Diomedes, in his nocturnal visit to the enemy's camp, deliberating whether to draw away the splendid chariot of Rhesus by the pole, or to carry it off on his shoulder.[1] In later times chariots were chiefly employed in the public games.

VIII. We now return from our digression. Though so little account is usually made of the common soldiers (*πρυλέες*),[2] Homer occasionally lays considerable stress on their orderly and compact array; Nestor and Menestheus are honorably distinguished by the epithet *κοσμήτορε λάων*.[3] The troops were naturally drawn up in separate bodies according to their different nations. It would appear to be rather a restoration of the old arrangement than a new classification, when Nestor[4] recommends Agamemnon to draw up the troops by tribes and phratries.

IX. Arranged in these natural divisions, the foot-soldiers were drawn up in densely-compacted bodies (*πυκιναὶ φάλαγγες*), shield close to shield, helmet to helmet, man to man.[5] In these masses, though not usually commencing the attack, they frequently offered a powerful resistance even to distinguished heroes,[6] the dense array of their spears forming a barrier not easily broken through. The signal for advance or retreat was not given by instruments of any kind, but by the voice of the leader. A loud voice was consequently an important matter, and the epithet *βοὴν ἀγαθός* is common. The trumpet, however, was not absolutely unknown.[7]

X. Under the king or chieftain who commanded his separate contingent, we commonly find subordinate chiefs, who command smaller divisions. It is difficult to say whether it is altogether accidental or not that these are frequently five in number. Thus the Myrmidons of Achilles are divided into five *στίχες*, each of five hundred men. Five chiefs command the Bœotians; and the whole Trojan army is formed in five divisions, each under three leaders.[8] The term *φάλαγξ* is applied either to the whole army,[9] or to these smaller divisions and subdivisions, which are also called *στίχες* and *πύργοι*.

XI. When an enemy was slain, it was the universal practice to stop and strip him of his arms, which were carefully preserved by the victor as trophies. The division of the booty generally was arranged by the leader of the troop, for whom a portion was set aside as an honorary present.[10] The recovery of the bodies of the

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1 *Il.*, x., 503, *seqq.*
2 *Id.*, xi., 49; xii., 77.
3 *Id.*, ii., 553; iv., 293.
4 *Id.*, ii., 362.
5 *Id.*, xiii., 130; xvi., 212.
6 *Id.*, xiii., 145; xvii., 267; xiii., 339.
7 *Id.*, xviii., 219.
8 *Id.*, iv., 295, *seqq.*; xvi., 171, *seqq.*, &c.
9 *Id.*, vi., 6.
10 *Id.*, i., 392; ix., 328; xi., 703.

slain was in the Homeric age, as in all later times, a point of the greatest importance, and frequently either led to a fierce conflict, or was effected by the payment of a heavy ransom.

CHAPTER XI.

CAMPS—SIEGES.

I. Of the earlier Grecian camps it may be observed, that in general the bravest warriors and soldiers were placed at the extremities, the rest between these, in order that the stronger might be a guard to the weaker, and sustain the first onsets, if the enemy should endeavor to force the intrenchments on either flank. Thus we find Achilles and Ajax posted at the two ends of the Grecian camp before Troy, as bulwarks on each side of the rest of the princes, who had their tents in the middle.[1]

II. When they intended to remain for any length of time in their encampments, it was customary, from the Homeric times downward, to set apart a place where altars were erected to the gods, and sacrifices and religious rites of all kinds were performed. In this same place public assemblies were called together, when the leader had any thing to communicate to his followers, and courts of justice were held, wherein all controversies between the soldiers were decided, and criminals sentenced to punishment.[2]

III. We do not find in the Trojan war a siege conducted on scientific principles. Troy was fortified, and had a wall provided with towers. The Greeks protected their camp with a rampart or a wall (*τεῖχος*), with towers (*πύργοι*) and battlements (*κρόσσαι, ἐπάλξεις*), a ditch in front (*τάφρος*), and palisades (*σκόλοπες*).[3] In the wall was a gate (*πύλαι*), for the egress of their chariots. The camp was in the neighborhood of the ships (which were hauled upon land), and consisted of huts composed of earth or wood (*κλισίαι*). There seem to have been no regular sentinels or outposts;[4] only the disabled and unserviceable were stationed on the walls;[5] nor had they any settled plan for sending out scouts. In the tenth book of the Iliad we read of them as employed by both sides.

IV. The fate of a captured city was cruel in the extreme.[6] All the males capable of bearing arms were exterminated; the women and children were dragged away, to be divided among the victors,

[1] *Il.*, ix., 222. [2] *Id.*, xi., 806. [3] *Id.*, vii., 327, 434.
[4] *Id.*, ix., 66; vii., 371. [5] *Id.*, viii., 517; xviii., 514.
[6] *Id.*, ix., 591; *Od.*, viii., 528; *Thirlwall, Hist. Gr.*, vol. i., p. 207, 8vo ed.

as the most valuable part of the spoil. And the evils of slavery were no doubt aggravated often by a partition, which tore a family asunder, and scattered its members over distant quarters of a foreign land. Homer describes a scene which was probably familiar to his contemporaries, when he compares the flood of tears drawn from Ulysses by his painful recollections with the weeping of a woman torn from the body of her husband, who had just fallen in defence of his city, and hurried along by the captors, who quicken her steps by striking her on the back and shoulders with their spears.

V. Yet the sanctuaries of the gods sometimes afforded an asylum, which was respected on these occasions by the conquerors. Thus Maro, the priest of Apollo,[1] was saved with his family from the common destruction, in which the Ciconians of Ismarus were involved by Ulysses; for he dwelt within the precincts sacred to the god; yet he redeemed himself by a heavy ransom. The priest of Apollo, who occasions the quarrel in the Iliad,[2] was not so fortunate: he loses his daughter in the sack of Thebe, and only recovers her through the extraordinary interference of the god.[3]

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CHAPTER XII.

NAVIGATION—SHIPS.

I. The beginning of the art of ship-building and of navigation among the Greeks must be referred to a time much anterior to the ages of which we have any record. Even in the earliest mythical stories long voyages are mentioned, which are certainly not altogether poetical fabrications, and we have every reason to suppose that at that early age ships were used which were far superior to a simple canoe, and of a much more complicated structure.

II. The time, therefore, when boats consisted of one hollow tree (*μονόξυλα*), or when ships were merely rafts (*σχεδίαι*), tied together with leathern thongs, ropes, or other substances,[4] belongs to a period of which not the slightest record has reached us, although such rude and simple boats or rafts continued occasionally to be used down to the latest times, and appear to have been very common among several of the barbarous nations with whom the Romans came in contact.[5]

III. Passing over the story of the ship Argo and the expedition

[1] *Od.*, ix., 197. [2] *Il.*, i., 11, *seqq.* [3] *Thirlwall, l. c.*
[4] *Plin., H. N.*, vii., 57. [5] *Quint.*, x., 2; *Flor.*, iv., 2; *Liv.*, xxi., 26.

of the Argonauts, we shall proceed to consider the ships described in the Homeric poems.

IV. The numerous fleet with which the Greeks are said to have sailed to the coast of Asia Minor must, on the whole, be regarded as sufficient evidence of the extent to which navigation was carried in those times, however much of the detail in the Homeric description may have arisen from the poet's own imagination. In the Homeric catalogue it is stated that each of the fifty Bœotian ships carried one hundred and twenty warriors,[1] and a ship which carried so many can not have been of very small dimensions. What Homer states of the Bœotian vessels applies more or less to the ships of other Greeks.

V. These ships were provided with a mast (*ἱστός*), which was fastened by two ropes (*πρότονοι*) to the two ends of the ship, so that when the rope broke that connected it with the prow, the mast would fall toward the stern, where it might kill the helmsman.[2] The mast could be erected or taken down as necessity required. They also had sails (*ἱστία*), but no deck; each vessel, however, appears to have had only one sail, which was used in a favorable wind, and the principal means of propelling the vessel lay in the rowers (*ἐρέται*), who sat upon benches (*κληῖδες*) while handling the oars (*ἐρετμοί*). The oars were fastened to the side of the ship with leathern thongs (*τροποὶ δερμάτινοι*[3]), in which they were turned as a key in its hole.

VI. The ships in Homer were mostly called black (*μέλαιναι*), probably because they were painted or covered with a black substance, such as pitch, to protect the wood against the influence of the water and the air. Sometimes other colors, such as *μίλτος* (*minium*), a red color, were used to adorn the sides of the ships near the prow, whence Homer occasionally calls ships *μιλτοπάρῃοι*, or red-cheeked.[4] They were also painted occasionally with a purple color (*φοινικοπάρῃοι*).[5] Herodotus says that all ships were painted with *μίλτος*.

VII. When the Greeks had landed on the coast of Troy, the ships were drawn on shore, and fastened at the poop to large stones with a rope which served as anchors.[6] This custom of drawing the ships upon the shore when they were not used was followed in later times also, as every one will remember from the accounts in Cæsar's Commentaries. When drawn up on the land they rested on shores or wooden props (*ἔρματα*). The ropes by which the vessels were fastened by the poops were called *πρυμνήσια*.

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[1] *Il.*, ii., 510. [2] *Od.*, xii., 409, *seqq.* [3] *Id.*, iv., 782.
[4] *Il.*, ii., 637; *Od.*, ix., 125. [5] *Od.*, xi., 124.
[6] *Il.*, i., 436; xiv., 77; *Od.*, ix., 137; xv., 498.

VIII. The most important parts of the vessel were the following: 1. The *keel* (*στείρη*); 2. The *rudder* (*πηδάλιον*); 3. The *bulwarks* (*ἴκρια*); 4. The *thwarts* or *rowers' benches* (*ζυγά*); 5. The *oar* (*ἐρετμός*), called also *κώπη*, though this, strictly speaking, is merely the *oar-handle*; 6. The *forecastle* or *prow* (*νηῦς πρώρη*); 7. The *afterpart* or *stern* (*νηῦς πρύμνη*); 8. The *mast* (*ἱστός*), made fast, as already remarked, to the fore and aft parts of the ship by the *stays* (*πρότονοι*); 9. The *sail* (*ἱστίον*); 10. The *ropes*, such as the *ὑπέραι*, running from the top of the mast to the two ends of the yard; the *κάλοι*, with which the sail was drawn up or let down; and the *πόδες*, or the ropes attached to the two lower corners of the square sail.[1] Homer does not describe any sea-fight, but he mentions a sort of poles employed on such occasions called *ξυστὰ ναύμαχα*. We read also of broad vessels of burden called *φορτίδες εὐρεῖαι*.

IX. There is a celebrated but difficult passage in the Odyssey,[2] in which the building of a vessel is described, although not with the minuteness which an actual ship-builder might wish for. Ulysses first cuts down with his axe twenty trees, and prepares the wood for his purpose by cutting it smooth and giving it the proper shape. He then bores the holes for nails and hooks, and fits the planks together, and fastens them with nails. He rounds the bottom of the ship like that of a broad vessel of burden, and raises the bulwarks (*ἴκρια*), fitting them upon the numerous ribs of the ship. He afterward covers the whole of the outside with planks, which are laid across the ribs from the keel upward to the bulwarks. Next the mast is made, and the sail-yard is attached to it; and, lastly, the rudder is formed.

X. When the ship is thus far completed, he raises the bulwarks still higher by wicker-work, which goes all around the vessel, as a protection against the waves. This raised bulwark of wicker-work and the like was used in later times also.[3] For ballast, Ulysses throws into the ship *ὕλη*, which, according to the scholiast, consisted of wood, stones, and sand. Calypso then brings him materials to make a sail of, and he fastens the *ὑπέραι*, the *κάλοι*, and the *πόδες*, already mentioned. The ship of which the building is thus described was a small vessel—a *σχεδία*, as Homer calls it; but it had, like all the Homeric ships, a round bottom. Greater ships must have been of a more complicated structure, as ship-builders are praised as artists.[4]

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[1] *Nitzsch, Anmerk. z. Odyss.*, vol. ii., p. 35, *seqq.*; *Ukert, Bemerk. über Hom. Geog.*, v., p. 20.

[2] *Od.*, v., 243.

[3] *Eustath. ad Od.*, v., 256.

[4] *Il.*, v., 60, *seqq.*

XI. It is a general opinion that in the Homeric age sailors did not venture out into the open sea; but that such was really done is clear from the fact that Homer makes Ulysses say that he had lost sight of land, and saw nothing but the sky and water; although, on the whole, it may be admitted that, even down to the historical times, the navigation of the ancients was confined to coasting along the shore. The Greeks most renowned in the Heroic ages as sailors were the Cretans, whose king Minos is said to have possessed a large fleet, and also the Phæacians.

CHAPTER XIII.

PHYSICAL TRAINING, SPORTS, &c.

I. The deity who presided over man's entrance into life was Ilithyia (Εἰλείθυια), of whom Homer speaks sometimes in the singular, at other times in the plural;[1] in the latter case, however, as the daughters of and standing in a dependent relation to Juno (Hera), the great matron and mother. The new-born child (according to Homer, *νεογιλός*; at a later period, *νεογνός*) received its first nourishment either from its mother, as Telemachus from Penelope, and Hector from Hecuba; or from a nurse, as Ulysses from Euryclea. Nausicaa and Astyanax, too, were nursed at a stranger's breast. The Homeric word *τρέφειν* is changed into *τιθηνεῖν* or *τιθηνεῖσθαι* by the author of the hymn to Ceres (Demeter).[2]

II. The swaddling, and the other earliest cares of infancy, are still more accurately described by the author of the Homeric hymn to Mercury (Hermes). It was the duty of the nurse to take care that her nursling sustained no injury from incantation (*ἐπηλυσίη*[3]), nor from any plant of magic power. She must know healing roots (*ἀντίτομα*[4]), of greater efficacy than any of those noxious herbs (*οὐλότομα*), whose preternatural effects were in a great measure produced by the art of culling the plant with its root (*ῥιζοτομεῖν βοτάνας*). Coagulated milk, wine, and honey is the diet with which Venus (Aphrodite) nourished the daughters of Pandareus.[5] Milk and honey, too, are the food of the new-born Jupiter (Zeus) in Crete.

III. Little infants were carried next the bosom, under the folds of the garment (*ὑπὸ κόλπῳ*), which was confined round the waist by the girdle. The warm touch was justly esteemed beneficial. Larger children were carried in the arms (*ἐπὶ κόλπῳ*). The wages

[1] *Il.*, xi., 270; xix., 119. [2] *H. in Cer.*, 142.
[3] *Id.*, 228; *in Merc.*, 37. [4] *H. in Cer.*, 229. [5] *Od.*, xx., 68.

of careful nursing were paid by the parents, or by the children themselves in after years, and gratitude raised the tender and watchful nurse to the station of director of household affairs, and inspector and teacher of the maidens, and granted her the privilege of making ready the couch of the master. The Greeks had a word to express the negligence of nurses, viz., *ἀφραδίη*; at a later period, *κακοφραδίη*.

IV. The later training of the boy was committed to men; as that of Achilles to Phœnix. A happy child, who lived under the watchful eye of his mother—above all, under the sheltering guardianship of his father, was termed *ἀμφιθαλής*.[1] But the child's only security for the continuance of these joyous days of infancy lay in the life and the power of his father; pitiable was the fate of the orphan.[2] Happier he whose father lived to afford a model to his unfolding powers, and to train him in his ripening years to be eloquent in discourse and strenuous in deed.

V. Hunting, running, leaping, wrestling, and boxing formed the discipline of the future warrior. Another part of his education was the knowledge of medicinal herbs (*φάρμακα*), and of the treatment of wounds, in which we find Achilles instructed by Chiron, the most virtuous of Centaurs.[3] Homer tells of no other instruction given to his hero by Chiron, around whom later traditions assembled the most illustrious chiefs and warriors, as in a school of chivalry.

VI. Unmarried youths, in the flower of their age, loved to repair to the circling dance in freshly-washed garments. A dance of this kind, executed with all the dexterity of the most skillful and vigorous youth, is described by the author of the Odyssey, during the visit of Ulysses to the King of the Phæacians.[4] While one youth hurls the purple ball into the air, and another catches it in the dance, others again clap their hands with open palm, probably thus beating the measure, which was reduced to a regular art among the Greeks; although, according to the explanation which Eustathius gives of the words *κοῦροι δ' ἐπιλήκεον ἄλλοι*, they appear to denote only the beating with the fore-finger of the one hand on the palm of the other.

VII. Playing on the cithara or lute was one of the accomplishments of heroic youth. Thus Achilles sings to the tuneful strings the deeds of illustrious men.[5] This was a kind of mental medicine; for the voice and the lute, blended as he blended them, have a magic power to captivate and subdue the spirit. The luxurious suitors of Penelope seek to amuse and please her, after their fashion, with playing at quoits before the door of the house.[6]

[1] Compare *Il.*, xxii., 500. [2] *Il.*, xxii., 489. [3] *Id.*, xi., 831.
[4] *Od.*, viii., 370. [5] *Il.*, ix., 186. [6] *Od.*, iv., 625.

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CHAPTER XIV.

PRIVATE LIFE—MARRIAGES, &c.

I. Young women in the bloom of youth (*ἥβης ἄνθος* according to Homer, *κουρήϊον ἄνθος ἔχουσαι* in the Homeridæ, that is, in mature yet virgin beauty) lived in the interior of the house with their mothers, busied about the household affairs; as in the instance of Nausicaa and the daughters of Celeus in the Homeric hymn to Ceres. It was their task to fetch water for the house in bright brazen pitchers (*κάλπις*, a vessel wide at the bottom and narrow at the top, with a handle); sometimes even to unharness the horses and mules from the chariots and wagons; but, above all, to superintend the washing of the linen; for white and delicately-washed linen caused the virgins to be held in high esteem, and attracted suitors, who would otherwise look for riches and noble lineage. But the busy gossip of the multitude warned the maidens to be of retired and discreet manners; for even then the tongue of scandal was busy, *μάλα δ' εἰσὶν ὑπερφίαλοι κατὰ δῆμον*.[1]

II. To associate with a man in secret, without the consent of parents, or the solemn rites of marriage, was disgraceful to a noble maiden.[2] Marriage, to be lawful, must be contracted under the direction, or, at least, with the consent of parents, as we find from the expressions of Briseis in her lament over Patroclus; or from the refusal of Achilles to marry the daughter of Agamemnon without the consent of Peleus.[3] The primitive custom of the purchase of the bride by the bridegroom, who prevailed in his suit by the weight of his gifts (*ἐέδνοις βρίσας*[4]), had been so far softened and refined in the Homeric age, that the wishes of the daughter were consulted. When Penelope puts off her suitors under ingenious pretexts, Antinous urges Telemachus to send home his mother, and to command her to unite herself to him whom her father approved of and she herself preferred.[5]

III. The desire of Alcinous, too, to have Ulysses as a son-in-law, seems expressed not without a reference to the inclinations of his daughter, who tells Ulysses at parting not to forget her. On the other hand, when the alliance was peculiarly desired by the father,

[1] *Od.*, vi., 274. [2] *Id.*, vi., 285. [3] *Il.*, ix., 394.
[4] *Od.*, vi., 159. [5] *Id.*, ii., 113.

he gave his daughter a rich dowry, houses and lands, namely, and sometimes even towns.

IV. We find in Homer the simple rudiments of those splendid and elaborate nuptial ceremonies of later times, which the refined and polished humanity of Greece elevated to a solemn act of consecration. In short, the leading of the bride in procession, veiled to the waist (*κρήδεμνον*,[1] which a scholiast explains by *ὠμεφόριον*), from the paternal abode to the one prepared for her reception, is still customary. Mention is expressly made in Hesiod of the carriage which was used on this solemn occasion; for driving in chariots is characteristic of the Heroic age, and is appropriate either to high festivals and solemnities, or to great distances. Torches were carried by the side.

V. A joyful marriage song was sung as the bridal train moved along (*ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει*), a hymn in short, for even the older Greeks point out the etymological relation between Hymenæus and the hymn. Pipes and harps resounded; but as song was never without the accompaniment of the measured step beating the cadence, the dance (*ὀρχηθμός*) and dancers (*ὀρχηστῆρες*) were a necessary appendage to the festival. The pipes, however, were clearly of Phrygian origin, and were connected with Oriental manners. The observations of the scholiast[2] expressly tell us that the pipe was unknown to the earlier Greeks. How essential song and dance were to nuptial feasts is clear from the command of Ulysses, that in order to deceive the Ithacans, there should be dance and song in the palace after the massacre of the suitors, as if a nuptial feast were celebrated.[3]

VI. Before the marriage ceremony the bride was conducted to the bath, after which she was dressed in a garment presented by the bridegroom. Thus, in the passage above quoted, Ulysses bade all the maidens bathe and adorn themselves.[4] Minerva's injunction to Nausicaa shows that the dresses of the bridesmen were presents from the bride.[5] When, at length, the guardian of the nuptial chamber (*θαλαμηπόλος*[6]) had conducted the espoused pair, with a train of torches, to the couch spread with carpets and rich coverings, she retired, and the bridegroom loosed the girdle of the bride, as Neptune did that of Tyro. The custom of greeting them with the epithalamian song and with shouts was of later origin.

VII. Second marriage was deemed contrary to the laws of modesty. A woman secured public respect by faithful attachment to

[1] *Il.*, xxii., 470. [2] *Schol. ad Il.*, xviii., 495. [3] *Od.*, xxiii., 130, *seqq.*
[4] *Id. ib.*, 132. [5] *Od.*, vi., 27. [6] *Id.*, vii., 8; xxiii., 293.

the husband of her youth. When Penelope, pressed by her father and her brothers, is near making choice of Eurymachus, Minerva warns Telemachus to return home and prevent this.[1] It is probable that grown-up children sometimes determined the conduct of the widow; for the paternal inheritance descended to them, she receiving back merely the portion she had brought. Telemachus wishes his mother out of the house, that he may be rid of the suitors, who squander his patrimony. But he is restrained from sending her back to Icarius by the difficulty of paying back her dowry.[2] Sometimes the wishes of the first husband decided the wife on a second marriage when the children were grown up.[3]

VIII. The divine vengeance overtook the man who seduced or coveted the wife of another, as Ægisthus, who, contrary to the will of Fate (*ὑπὲρ μόρον*), espoused the wife of Agamemnon, and assisted in murdering him on his return. Even the dishonor of a concubine (*παλλακίς*) was avenged by the Erinnyes or Furies;[4] and a punishment known to the earliest records of the East, and represented on the elder Greek works of art (the Phigalean bass-reliefs, for instance), interment under a heap of stones, so that only the head was left exposed, appears to have been the common punishment of ravishers.[5]

IX. Adultery was punished by fine.[6] The injured husband demanded restitution of all the presents he had given to the father of his wife. It was a duty to make this atonement. The lawful wife was called *κουριδίη ἄλοχος* or *ἄκοιτις*, in contradistinction to the *παλλακίδες* or concubines; and the children born in wedlock *γνήσιοι* or *ἰθαιγενέες*, while the others were termed *νόθοι*. The illegitimate children were sometimes brought up at home. In the Iliad one is mentioned who remained in the house, and was kindly treated by the lawful wife. Telamon also educates his natural son at home; and Priam's legitimate and illegitimate children sit in the same chariot.[7]

CHAPTER XV.

EMPLOYMENT OF THE WOMEN

I. We have already said that the women lived in the interior of the house, busied about household affairs.[8] Sometimes, though not frequently, the solitude and monotony of the women's apartments were

[1] *Od.*, xv., 21. [2] *Id.*, xix., 527. [3] *Id.*, xviii., 269.
[4] *Il.*, ix., 454. [5] Compare *Il.*, iii., 39. [6] *Od.*, viii., 332.
[7] *Il.*, ix., 102. *Od.*, iv., 797; *Il.*, vi., 245.

interrupted by visits. The visitors were received with nearly the same formalities as we find recorded in the Old Testament. The whole ceremonial of reception is best described in the passage where Thetis enters the Gynæceum of Vulcan.[1] To advance to meet the visitor, and to put out the hand (in the case of an inferior or dependant, a kiss on the head and hand was added to this greeting, and was affectionately returned);[2] words of gracious and flattering welcome; a prayer to be seated on a magnificent couch (*κλισμός* or *κλισίη*), which was often inlaid with silver and ivory, and before which was placed a foot-stool (*ὑπόπους*), are the almost invariably recurring demonstrations of courtesy in the Homeric age.

II. Suppliants, however, thought it seemly to decline the stately magnificence of the couch, which was sometimes covered with rich carpets. Thus Ceres, in the hymn to her, reposes on a seat covered with the fleece of a sheep. It was also the custom for the host or hostess to lead the way.[3] To offer refreshment, a cup of wine, namely (among the immortals ambrosia and nectar, as in Calypso's reception of Mercury), or, at least, a nourishing dish of polenta, made of meal and water,[4] was one of the attentions with which the rites of hospitality were honored.

III. Another interruption to the monotony of female life in these early times was occasioned by the chance visit of a Phœnician merchant, who was admitted into the women's apartments to display his caskets of jewelry.[5] The rest of the women's time was spent in the ordinary employment of their sex, weaving (in which, even anterior to Homer, they had attained to the refinement of executing elaborate patterns), and attendance on the children.[6]

IV. Throwing the ball in a circle; running races on coming out of the streams in which they had washed the linen; gathering flowers and sporting over beautiful meads, amusements which were graceful in young maidens, no longer beseemed the matron. Hers was the praise of noble stature and polished mind, of dignified manners and skillful works.[7] To rule amid her women and maidens; to converse with them, and take pleasure in their merriment;[8] or, like Helen, to listen attentively to the discourse of a guest, or skillfully to prepare medicaments for his wounds or his illness—such was the vocation of the mistress, who rarely left her household to the guidance of servants.

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[1] *Il.*, xviii., 369. [2] *Od.*, xvi., 15; xxi., 224. [3] *Id.*, i., 125.
[4] *Hymn. in Cer.*, 206. [5] *Od.*, xv., 459. [6] *Id.*, vii., 110.
[7] *Il.*, i., 115. [8] *Od.*, xviii., 315.

CHAPTER XVI.

EMPLOYMENT OF THE MEN.

I. The most universal source of wealth in the Heroic age was the rearing of cattle, sheep, &c. Rich men are called *ἄνδρες πολυβοῦται, πολύῤῥηνες, πολύαρνες, πολύμηλοι.* It is well known that, at the present day, among the nomadic nations of Asia, the sons of the chiefs still follow their flocks in the wilderness. And this, in the Heroic ages, was likewise the case in Greece, where youths of the noblest families watched over their father's sheep and cattle.[1] Thus Bucolion, son of Laomedon, led to pasture the flocks of his sire;[2] and two sons also of Priam pursued the same occupation.[3] Where the number of the flock required the care of several men, a chief shepherd (*ἐπιποιμήν*[4]) was appointed to overlook the rest. Among the ancients twenty sheep were thought to require the attention of a man and a boy; but in modern times three men and a boy, with four or five dogs, are sometimes intrusted with a flock of five hundred, of which two thirds are ewes.[5]

II. But that agriculture was also, at a very early period, an important pursuit, may be gathered from the writings of Hesiod, as well as from various passages in Homer, particularly those in which he uses similes derived from husbandry.[6] For their ploughs they employed oxen and mules. The construction of the plough always continued to be extremely simple. In the age of Hesiod[7] it consisted of four parts, the handle, the socket, the coulter, and the beam; and very little alteration seems afterward to have been made in its form or structure till the introduction of the wheel-plough. The more primitive instrument, however, would seem to have consisted originally of two parts only, one serving the purpose of handle, socket, and share, the other being the beam by which it was fastened to the yoke. In the antique implement the beam was sometimes made of bay or elm, the socket of oak, and the handle of ilex.

III. We read also of the cultivation of fruit, especially of the vine. Long before the historical age the vine had spread itself through the whole of Greece, together with several parts of Asia Minor, as may

[1] *Schol. Did. ad Od.*, xiii., 223. [2] *Il.*, vi., 25; *Od.*, xv., 385. [3] *Il.*, iv., 106.
[4] *Od.*, xii., 131. [5] *Leake, Travels in the Morea*, vol. i., p. 17.
[6] *Il.*, xi., 67; xviii., 540, 560. [7] *Op. et D.*, 467, *seqq.*; *Göttl. ad Hes., O. et D.*, 431.

be inferred from the language of Homer,[1] who frequently enumerates vineyards among the possessions of his heroes. Hunting, fowling, and fishing also formed part of the employments of men during this same period. The arms and accoutrements of these primitive sportsmen corresponded with the rough service in which they were engaged. Sometimes they went forth to the attack of the wild bull or the boar armed with formidable battle-axes.[2] But when their game was fleet and innocuous, a handful of light javelins and the bow sufficed; as when Ulysses and his companions beat the country in search of wild goats.[3] Boar spears were in use before the period of the Trojan war, as Ulysses, who appears to have been excessively addicted to the chase, is represented going thus armed to the field with the sons of Autolycus, when he was wounded by the hog.[4] The chase of the lion, which in Xenophon's time could no longer be enjoyed in Greece Proper, required the most daring courage and the most formidable weapons, spears, javelins, clubs, and burning torches, with which at last they repelled him at night from the cattle-stalls.[5]

IV. Fowling was practiced not only with nets and gins, but also with the bow, in the use of which last they showed accomplished marksmanship.[6] In the funeral games of Patroclus we find one of the heroes hitting from a considerable distance a dove which had been tied by a small cord to the summit of a mast.[7] They fished not only with nets, but with hooks,[8] though the passage, indeed, where the net is mentioned, can not well be adduced in corroboration, since it may refer to fowling as well as to fishing.[9] Certain verses in the Odyssey, however, prove beyond a doubt that the Greeks had already begun to derive a great part of their sustenance from the sea; and the Homeric heroes even understood the value of oysters, which, as appears from the Iliad, were obtained by diving.[10]

CHAPTER XVII.

ARTS—ARCHITECTURE—METALLURGY.

I. It is clear, from the poems of Homer, that the Greeks were acquainted, at a very early period, with many of the arts which contribute to the comfort and elegance of life. The expression δημι-

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[1] *Il.*, ii., 561; iii., 184; ix., 152, 294. [2] *Id.*, xvii., 520. [3] *Od.*, ix., 155, *seqq.*
[4] *Id.*, ix., 465. [5] *Il.*, xvii., 657. [6] *Athenæus*, i., 22, 24.
[7] *Il.*, xxiii., 853. [8] *Od.*, xii., 331, *seqq.*
[9] *Il.*, iii., 487, *seqq.*; *St. John, Hellenes*, i., 210. [10] *Il.*, xvi., 747.

εργός comprehends all those who exercised mechanic arts, thus excluding diviners, physicians, minstrels, and heralds.

II. Among the arts we must especially notice architecture and the working in metals.

III. The first period of architecture, which is chiefly mythical, comes down to the time of Cypselus, B.C. 660. Müller, however, carries it as far down as B.C. 580. Our information respecting this period is derived from the Homeric poems, the traditions preserved by other writers, and the most ancient monuments of Greece, Central Italy, and the coast of Asia Minor. Strongly-fortified cities, palaces, and treasuries are the chief works of the earlier part of this period, and to it may be referred most of the so-called Cyclopean remains, while the era of the Dorian invasion marks, in all probability, the commencement of the Dorian style of temple architecture.

IV. The metals which have been more or less known from the earliest period of which we have any information are those which were long distinguished as the seven principal metals, namely, gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, lead, and mercury. If to this list we add the compound of gold and silver called *electrum* (*ἤλεκτρον*), the compound of copper and tin called *χαλκός* (bronze), and steel, we have, in all probability, a list of the metals known to the Greeks of the Homeric times, and also to their descendants of a later day. Zinc they do not appear to have known as a metal, but only in its ores; and brass they regarded as a sort of bronze.

V. The early Greeks were no doubt chiefly indebted for a supply of the various metals to the commerce of the Phœnicians, who procured them principally from Arabia and Spain, and tin from Britain and the East. In the Homeric poems we find an allusion to this traffic as one in which the Greeks of the western coast were already engaged; where Minerva personates Mentes, the ruler of the Taphians, carrying shining iron to Temesa in Cyprus, to exchange it for copper.[1] The Homeric poems furnish ample proof of how much more plentiful copper was than iron. The former is the common material for arms, instruments, and vessels of various sorts; the latter is mentioned much more rarely, and is distinguished by an epithet implying the difficulty of working it (*πολύκμητος*[2]), and its adjective is often used metaphorically to express the greatest stubbornness.[3] Hesiod carries us back to a period when iron was unknown;[4] and though the period thus described is mythical, yet the

[1] *Od.*, i., 184; *Nitzsch, ad loc.*
[2] *Il.*, vi., 48.
[3] *Od.*, v., 191, &c.
[4] *Op. et D.*, 150, *seqq.*

idea of it was clearly connected with the belief that iron had been the last discovered of all the metals.[1]

VI. The importance of hardening copper for arms and armor, and so forth, is a presumption in favor of the knowledge and use of tin; but we have also definite mention of this metal (*κασσίτερος*) several times in the Iliad; and it seems not improbable that then, as now, it was generally plated on another metal.[2] The art of hardening copper by the admixture of tin was known before the historical period. With respect to steel, it is a much disputed point whether this metal is the proper sense of the word *κύανος* in Homer[3] and Hesiod;[4] but, at all events, it is highly probable that this is the meaning of *ἀδάμας* in Hesiod.[5] It would appear, from the manner in which Æschylus refers to the Chalybes, taken in connection with the traditions respecting the early intercourse of the Greeks with the shores of the Baltic, that the iron and steel works of that people were known at a very early period, and that it was from them chiefly that the Greeks procured their iron and steel.[6]

VII. The ancients were acquainted with gold and silver from the earliest known periods, and they are constantly mentioned in Homer. It would appear, however, from the language of Homer, that silver was comparatively scarce. It was much more abundant in Asia than in Greece Proper, where there were not many silver mines. Throughout the whole of Greece, moreover, though gold was by no means unknown, it appears to have been obtained chiefly through the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, which possessed it in abundance. The Homeric poems speak constantly of gold as being laid up in treasuries and used in large quantities for the purposes of ornament; but this is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that Homer was an Asiatic Greek. The chief places from which the Greeks procured their gold were India, Arabia, Armenia, Colchis, and Troas. It was also found mixed with the sands of the Pactolus and other rivers.

VIII. If we turn from the metals themselves to the art of working them, still taking the poems of Homer and Hesiod for our guide, we find the Greeks of that early period perfectly acquainted with the processes of smelting the metal from the ore, and of forging heated masses into the required shapes, by the aid of the hammer and the tongs. It may indeed be doubted whether the *χόανοι*, into which

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[1] *Höck, Creta*, i., p. 260; *Millin, Minéralogie Homérique.*

[2] *Beckmann, Hist. Inv.*, ii., p. 206, &c.

[3] *Il.*, xi., 24, 35; *Od.*, vii., 87.

[4] *Scut.*, 143.

[5] *Id.*, 231; *Theog.*, 161.

[6] *Æsch., Prom. V.*, 720; *Apoll. Rhod.*, ii., 1000; *Xen., Anab.*, v., 5, 1.

Vulcan throws the materials of the shield of Achilles, and which are worked by the blast of twenty pair of bellows (*φῦσαι*), are smelting furnaces or mere smith's forges,[1] but the former sense seems required in the passage of Hesiod.[2] Both Homer and Hesiod refer to the smith's work-shop (*χαλκήϊος δόμος, χάλκειος θῶκος*) as a common lounge, and as a place of shelter to which the poor resorted for its warmth.[3]

IX. The smith's instruments were the anvil (*ἄκμων*), with the block on which it rested (*ἀκμόθετον*), the tongs (*πυράγρη*), and the hammer (*ῥαιστήρ, σφῦρα*).[4] The following wood-cut, representing Vulcan forging a thunderbolt for Jupiter, and taken from a gem in the royal cabinet at Paris, will give some idea of these instruments.

X. The arts of casting metals into moulds, and of welding or even of soldering pieces of metal together, were as yet unknown. In large works, hammered plates were united by mechanical fastenings, nails, pins, rivets, cramps, or dovetails (*δεσμοί, ἧλοι, περόναι, κέντρα*), and specimens of this sort of work in the bronze statues of the earliest period were still to be seen in the time of Pausanias.[5] The art of embossing, or fastening pieces of one metal on the surface of another (*ἐμπαιστικὴ τέχνη*), is referred to several times in Homer.[6] Gilding was commonly practiced. One interesting example is the gilding of the horns of an ox about to be sacrificed.[7]

[1] *Il.*, xviii., 470. [2] *Theog.*, 863. [3] *Od.*, xviii., 328; *Op. et D.*, 491.
[4] *Il.*, xviii., 369; *Od.*, iii., 433, *seqq.*
[5] *Pausan.*, x., 16, 1. Compare *Il.*, xi., 634; xviii., 379.
[6] *Il.*, xi., 24, 35. Compare *Lobeck, ad Soph., Aj.*, 846. [7] *Od.*, iii., 425, &c.

This passage furnishes a striking instance of the use of words connected with χαλκός for working in any kind of metal.

XI. The advances made in the art of metallurgy in subsequent times are chiefly connected with the improvements in the art of statuary. The method of working, as described by Homer, seems to have long prevailed, namely, by beating out lumps of the material into the form proposed, and afterward fitting the pieces together by means of pins or keys. It was called σφυρήλατον, from σφῦρα, a hammer.[1]

Aug. 12. 1852.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COMMERCE—MONEY—WEIGHTS.

I. Homer, of course, supplies the best account we possess of Grecian commerce in remote antiquity, though it had been carried on ages before his time. Mariners, in the Odyssey, obtain the name of πρηκτῆρες, or "merchants," and are elsewhere said to plough the seas ἐπὶ πρῆξιν καὶ χρήματα, "for traffic and gain."[2] The most celebrated mariners known to Homer were the Phœnicians, whom he terms Ναυσίκλυτοι ἄνδρες, "famous mariners," subjoining τρῶκται, μυρί' ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηὶ μελαίνῃ, "greedy knaves, bringing numberless trinkets in the black ship."[3] These Phœnician traders brought also rich clothing and glass wares.

II. That from the very first, moreover, the Phœnicians obtained notoriety for their piratical arts, the story of Eumæus in the Odyssey, and the abduction of Io, as related by Herodotus,[4] would seem clearly to indicate. Nay, Thucydides himself, in a recapitulation of the ancient history of Greece, observes that the islanders, chiefly Carians and Phœnicians, were no less renowned than their neighbors for piracy.[5] The Phœnicians, however, would appear to have led the way, and probably, by their successes, excited the emulation of the Carians, who drove them from the islands, and adopted the business of piracy in their stead.[6]

III. Coined money is not mentioned in Homeric times, the measure of value being a certain number of heads of cattle. Whenever the precious metals are spoken of as employed in effecting the transfer of commodities, we are to understand merely a certain quantity of unstamped gold and silver. From an often-cited passage of the

[1] *Pausan.*, iii., 17, 6.
[2] *Od.*, 8, 162. Compare *Hymn. in Apoll.*, 397.
[3] *Od.*, xv., 414, *seqq.*
[4] *Herod.*, i., 2.
[5] *Thucyd.*, i., 8.
[6] *Conon., Dieg.*, 47, *ap. Phot.*, c. 141, a. 20.

Iliad, it is clear that the practice of barter still prevailed. The poet describes certain ships arriving at the Grecian camp with a cargo of wine from Lemnos, on which the chiefs and soldiers flock to the shore and provide themselves with what they need, some giving in exchange for it a quantity of brass, iron, and skins, and others oxen or slaves.[1]

IV. The prevailing tradition among the Greeks was, that Pheidon, king of Argos, first coined both silver and copper money at Ægina, and first established a system of weights and measures.[2] This tradition no doubt expresses an historical fact, though much distorted. The coinage or monetary system of Pheidon appears to have been of Asiatic origin, and to have been adopted chiefly by the Doric states. Another system of money existed in Asia Minor at a very early period, especially among the Lydians,[3] from whom it was adopted by the Ionian colonists, from which last it passed over into the Ionian states of Greece Proper, especially Athens, under the name of the Euboïc system.[4]

V. The Greek system of weight was undoubtedly post-Homeric. Of the two chief denominations used in the Greek system, namely, *τάλαντον* (*talentum*) and *μνᾶ* (*mina*), Homer uses only the former, which is a genuine Greek word, meaning *weight*, the other being an Oriental word of the same meaning. Homer uses *τάλαντον*, like *μέτρον*, in a specific sense; and, indeed, in all languages, the earliest words used for weight are merely generic terms specifically applied; such are *τάλαντον*, *maneh* (*μνᾶ*), *libra*, and the English *pound*, from *pondus*. Hence the introduction of the foreign word *maneh* (*μνᾶ*) by the side of the native word *τάλαντον*, indicates the introduction of a new standard of weight, which new standard soon superseded the old; and then the old word *τάλαντον* was used as a denomination of weight in the new system, quite different from the weight which it signified before. This last point is manifest from the passages in Homer in which the word is used in a specific sense, especially in the description of the funeral games, where the order of the prizes proves that the *talent* must have been a very much smaller weight than the later talent of sixty minæ, or about eighty-two pounds avoirdupois; and traces of this ancient small talent are still found at a much later period.[5]

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[1] *Il.*, vii., 472, *seqq.*
[2] *Herod.*, vi., 127; *Eph. ap. Strab.*, viii., p. 376; *Æl., V. H.*, xii., 10.
[3] *Herod.*, i., 94.
[4] *Grote, Hist. Gr.*, ii., p. 424.
[5] *Smith, Dict. of Ant., s. v. Pondera*, p. 931, ed. 2.

Aug. 13. 1852

CHAPTER XIX.

SLAVES.

I. In the most ancient times there are said to have been no slaves in Greece,[1] but we find them in the Homeric poems, though by no means so generally as in later times. As soon as men began to give quarter in war, and became possessed of prisoners, the idea of employing them, and rendering their labors subservient to their maintenance, naturally suggested itself. At the outset, therefore, servitude sprang from feelings of humanity; for when it was found that advantages could be derived from captured enemies, they were no longer butchered in the field.[2]

II. Hence, from the verb signifying "to be subdued" (*δαμᾶσθαι*), they were denominated *Dmoës* (*δμῶες*), and the female slaves *Dmoæ* (*δμωαί*),[3] and constant mention of them is made in Homer. Thus Telemachus speaks of the Dmoës whom his father had left in his charge;[4] and Agamemnon detained in his tent a number of Lesbian women taken captive in war.[5] In the same condition was Briseïs; and to this fate Hector fears Andromache may be reserved after his death.[6]

III. The practice was, when a number of prisoners had been taken, to make a division of them among the chiefs, generally by lot, and then to sell them for slaves. This Achilles boasts he had frequently done;[7] and Priam fears that this will be the destiny of his own sons, as it had been of Lycaon, one of their number, whom the Thessalian hero had seized in the monarch's garden (*ἐν πατρὸς ἀλωῇ*).[8] To the same purpose is the lament of Hecuba, who accuses Achilles of having reduced many of her sons to slavery.[9] Examples also occur in antiquity of whole cities and states being at once subjected to servitude, and this not merely in the Homeric, but also in a later age.[10]

IV. But the supply produced by war seldom equalled the demand; and, in consequence, a race of kidnappers sprang up, who, partly merchants and partly pirates, roamed about the shores of the Med-

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1 *Herod.*, vi., 137; *Pherecrat. ap. Athen.*, vi., p. 263, *b*.
2 *Mitford, Hist. Gr.*, i., p. 405.
3 *Terpstra, Ant. Hom.*, p. 126.
4 *Od.*, i., 398; *Nitzsch, ad loc.*
5 *Il.*, ix., 128.
6 *Id.*, vi., 454.
7 *Id.*, xxi., 102.
8 *Id.*, xxi., 36.
9 *Id.*, xxiv., 751.
10 *Od.*, xv., 427.

iterranean, picking up solitary and unprotected individuals. Thus Eumæus was sold by Phœnicians to Laertes; and Ulysses also relates how a Phœnician plotted against his liberty when he was sailing with him toward Libya, and that the Thesprotians had meditated a like design.[1] In the Homeric age, however, slaves, whether acquired in war or by purchase, were mostly confined to the houses of the powerful and wealthy. The vast influx of slaves at a later period will be considered in another part of this volume.

V. As regards the power possessed by masters over their slaves during the Heroic ages, it may be remarked that every man appears to have been a king in his own house, and to have exercised his authority without any control. Thus we find the young Telemachus taking pleasure in the idea that he shall be king over his slaves;[2] and Andromache, with a mother's fondness, fears lest her son should become the drudge of an unfeeling lord.[3] That masters, indeed, in that early age, enjoyed the full power of life and death over their slaves, is illustrated by an example in the Odyssey, where the hero being, while in disguise, insulted grossly by Melanthius, threatens the slave that he will incite Telemachus to cut him to pieces.[4] Afterward, when he has recovered his authority, the terrible menace is remembered and fulfilled.[5] When supposed to deserve death, slaves were always executed ignominiously, and generally by hanging.[6]

VI. The practice of manumission already prevailed in the Heroic ages. Ulysses promises their freedom to his herdsman and swineherd, if by their aid he should slaughter the suitors;[7] and, according to Plutarch, Telemachus actually bestowed on Eumæus and his companions both their liberty and the rights of citizenship, and from them, he adds, the celebrated families of the Coliades and Bucoli were descended.[8]

VII. The employments of slaves embraced, as might be expected, the whole range of domestic and out-door employments, the latter, however, being generally discharged by the men, the former by the women. The labor of female servants was particularly severe. Early in the morning their daily toil began with lighting the fire on the hearth.[9] They then sprinkled and swept the hall; spread carpets over the couches or benches, and cleansed the tables with sponges. Some washed the jugs and cups, others fetched water.[10] Some meanwhile were at work with their mistress at the loom, while others prepared the morning meal for the guests. Before the latter par-

[1] *Od.*, xiv., 297, 340. [2] *Id.*, i., 397. [3] *Il.*, xxiv., 734. [4] *Od.*, xviii., 339.
[5] *Id.*, xxii., 475. [6] *Id.*, xxii., 462. [7] *Id.*, xxi., 214.
[8] *Plut., Hellen. Probl.* 14. [9] *Od.*, xx., 123. [10] *Id.*, xv., 321, *seqq.*

took of it, however, they used the bath; and it was the women's province to wash, anoint, and dress them. At the repast, a serving woman carried round water in a vase; she placed a basin on the table, over which the guests held their hands, while she poured water upon them.

VIII. The meats, which had been prepared by the cook,[1] were distributed by the carvers (*δαιτροί*); while the housekeeper or stewardess, and the maids, handed round bread in wicker baskets, and the herald poured out the wine. In the evening, some were employed in keeping up the fires;[2] for if they were suffered to go out, they were rekindled with difficulty.[3] The women whose business it was to tend the fires, whiled away the hours with gossip.[4] Euryclea, the faithful nurse of Ulysses, attends Telemachus to his couch,[5] arranges the folds of his garments which he has taken off, hangs them on a peg by the bed-side, and, after seeing him composed to rest, bolts and locks him into his room. After the evening meal, the maids cleared the tables,[6] and when the guests had all retired, they too were allowed to rest.

IX. Not till late in the night, however, was there any cessation of toil for those of the female slaves whose hard office it was to grind the wheat and the barley in the hand-mill.[7] How many a complaint of these over-worked beings, whom the morning often surprised at their wretched drudgery, has been echoed to our ears by the voice of the poets, and how beautifully is the invention of water-mills, and the relief thereby produced, alluded to in the charming epigram of the poet Antipater, where Ceres is said to have transferred to the water nymphs the toil which had wearied the hands of the wretched female serfs.[8]

X. In addition, however, to the slaves, there were also free laborers, who worked for hire, and were called *Thētes* (*Θῆτες*). These sometimes seem to have been placed on the extremities of estates, as the guardians of boundaries, a post which Eurymachus offers with good wages to Ulysses.[9] And it is the condition of one of these hinds which Achilles, when in Hades, prefers to the empire of the shades. The gods also, in their sojourn upon earth, sometimes submitted to the hardships of this condition. Thus Phœbus Apollo kept the flocks of Admetus, king of Thessaly,[10] when the former was banished for a certain period from the skies. In a later age, however, the *Θῆτες* were the members of the fourth or lowest class at Athens,

[1] *Od.*, iv., 621. [2] *Id.*, xviii., 312; xix., 54. [3] *Id.*, v., 488.
[4] *Id.*, xviii., 27. [5] *Id.*, i., 428. [6] *Id.*, vii., 230. [7] *Id.*, xx., 118.
[8] *Anth. P.*, 9, 418. [9] *Od.*, xviii., 356. [10] *Apollod.*, i., 8.

according to the political division of Solon, and are not to be confounded with those who bore this name in earlier times.

Aug. 14. 1852

CHAPTER XX.

DRESS OF THE WOMEN.

I. The dress even of the queen of the skies, when she seeks to captivate Jupiter, is very simple, and we can only trace in Homer the beginnings of those personal adornments which the art of a later age multiplied to infinity. Around her freshly-bathed and spotless person Juno (Heré) throws a fine garment, which was fastened only at the breast (*κατὰ στῆθος*) with golden clasps.[1] The name of the garment (*ἑανός*) must be elucidated by *πέπλος*, as in most cases it is only an adjective, and the verb *ἕσατο*, like the Latin *amicire*, shows that we must by no means understand it to mean putting on clothes in our sense of the word, but merely throwing or wrapping the vestment around the body. The names which Homer employs for articles of female dress are so capriciously varied, that it is sometimes difficult to understand the poet's meaning. The simplicity of their form, which differed little from that of the men's, render such mistakes of easy occurrence.

II. The *chitōn* (*χιτών*), the most frequently-named female garment, is generally understood to be the under garment, reaching to the feet (*χιτὼν τερμιόεις*),[2] which was worn next to the skin, like the *tunica* of the Romans. The more common expression, however, for this article of clothing was *peplus* (*πέπλος*, later *πέπλον*), which in Homer signified any covering whatever; but, at the time when two body garments were worn, was used for the upper or outer one. Hence, therefore, a complete dress, especially that of women, was called *πέπλοι*, in the plural. The *chiton* was the more convenient dress for the house. The *peplus* was the garment for state occasions, and was consequently adorned with embroidery, the work oftentimes of Sidonian women.[3] The Trojan women wore it with deep falling hems. Homer says that Minerva threw off the upper garment, the *peplus*, and put on the *chiton* when she armed herself with the weapons given her by Jove.[4] The opposite cut may throw some light upon the subject which we are here considering. Each of the females here represented wears a *peplus* over a *chiton*.

III. These vestments, then, and with them the *φᾶρος* of Calypso,[5]

[1] *Il.*, xiv., 180. [2] *Od.*, xix., 242. [3] *Il.*, vi., 289.
[4] *Id.*, viii., 384. [5] *Od.*, v., 230.

were shawl-like draperies of woollen cloth, without any regular cut, and held together only by brooches or clasps (*πόρπαι, περόναι*), or else by a girdle (*ζώνη*).[1] This girdle Calypso binds round her, just above the hips; whereas the magic zone (*κεστός*) of Venus was worn close under the breast; according to Heyne, on the outside of the garment; according to Voss, next the skin (*ἐν κόλπῳ*).[2] The Homeric *chiton*, however, must not be confounded with the garment of the same name worn in a later age, this latter being no longer a mere shawl-like drapery, but a regular garment with sleeves, though still worn next the person, and not fitting closely.

IV. In the scene where Juno summons to her aid every art of the toilet, one of her ornaments is a veil (*κρήδεμνον*), radiant as sunbeams, laid over the braids of hair which fell from the top of her head. According to several passages, collated by Köhler,[3] we ought to consider this *credemnon* as a cloth which might either be drawn like a veil before the face, or folded together and twisted around the brow, not very unlike the simpler sort of turban of the Eastern women of the present day. The head-dress of the Trojan women[4] was more complicated, though essentially the same as the *credemnon*, which was merely used to bind the hair together. It may be

[1] *Od.*, v., 231.
[2] *Il.*, xiv., 223.
[3] *Description d'une Améthyste*, &c., p. 37.
[4] *Il.*, xxii., 468.

observed in this connection that the *peplus* could also be made to cover the head when the women went abroad, and could thus serve the purpose of a veil.

V. The Homeric *ampyx* (ἄμπυξ) was a broad band or plate of metal, which ladies of rank wore upon the forehead as part of the head-dress.[1] Hence it is attributed to the female divinities. Diana (Artemis) wears a frontal of gold;[2] and the epithet χρυσάμπυκες is applied by Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar to the Muses, the Hours, and the Fates. The frontal of a horse was called by the same name, and was occasionally made of similar rich materials. Hence, in the Iliad, the horses which draw the chariots of Juno and of Mars are called χρυσάμπυκες.[3] The annexed wood-cut exhibits the frontal on the head of Pegasus, taken from one of Sir W. Hamilton's vases, in contrast with the corresponding ornament as shown on the heads of two females in the same collection.

VI. The κεκρύφαλος was a caul or coif of net-work, corresponding to the later *reticulum* of the Romans. It was worn during the day as well as the night, and has continued in use from the most ancient times to the present day. It is mentioned by Homer as forming part of the attire of Andromache,[4] and is still worn in Italy and Spain.

VII. Other female ornaments were the πλεκτὴ ἀναδέσμη,[5] a plaited or twisted head-band; ear-rings in the form of olives or of mulberries (μορόεντα);[6] armlets (ἕλικες), twisted around the arm like snakes;[7] brooches or clasps (πόρπαι, περόναι), which, according to

[1] *Il.*, xxii., 468. [2] *Eurip., Hec.*, 464.
[3] *Il.*, viii., 382; v., 358. [4] *Id.*, xxii., 469. [5] *Id., l. c.*
[6] *Id.*, xiv., 183. Others, however, make μορόεντα mean merely "skillfully or richly wrought." Ernesti gives "mulberry colored" as the signification.
[7] *Apoll. ad Il.*, xviii., 401.

Hesiod, were wrought like the handle of a shield, and were fastened with a double tube ;[1] rosettes (κάλυκες),[2] which were probably stuck on the dress ; necklaces or collars (ὅρμοι) ; and splendid sandals with very strong soles, which were an indispensable article of every dress worn on public or state occasions. All these combined constituted the main portion of the state costume, which gave the last grace and dignity to an Homeric princess. The occasions on which such a dress was worn were the visits of a female friend, the festival of a god, which caused a suspension of the usual business, or a banquet at which women were permitted to appear, as, for instance, the wedding feast of Menelaus.[3]

Aug-16-1871.

CHAPTER XXI.

DRESS OF THE MEN.

I. The clothing of the men consisted also of a *chiton* (χιτών), or under tunic, generally short, made of woollen, and without sleeves. Sometimes, however, the long tunic (χιτὼν τερμιόεις) was worn. When they went out, a wide mantle, called χλαῖνα, likewise of woollen, was thrown over the tunic. This mantle was also termed φᾶρος, as in the case of the women. A person who wore a *chiton* only was called οἰοχίτων,[4] and in later times μονοχίτων.[5]

II. The χλαῖνα was a square piece of cloth, sometimes with the corners rounded off, which was passed over the left shoulder, then brought under the right arm, and the corner again thrown over the left shoulder.[6] The value of such an article of attire was fully appreciated by those who had to face the winter's cold with only a *chiton* (οἰοχίτωνες), for in the night it also served as a covering. There is a striking resemblance to the Scotch plaid in both the form and the application of the χλαῖνα.

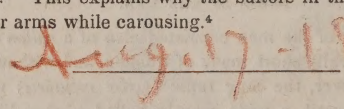
III. But in the season when the beasts with chattering teeth seek a shelter from the cold, and man, like a crippled tripod, totters before the drifting snow, even this is not enough for the warmth-desiring shepherd ; but over the χλαῖνα he puts a cloak of goat-skins, sewed together with leather thongs, as a defence against rain or frost. Only old men, like Laertes, had sleeves to the *chiton*, which came quite over the hand. Nor must we fall into the mistake of imagining the χλαῖνα a double garment where it is mentioned as

[1] *Od.*, xix., 207. [2] *Hymn. in Cer.*, 428. [3] *Od.*, x., 61.
[4] *Id.*, xiv., 489. [5] *Polyb.*, xiv., 11, 2. [6] *Od.*, xxi., 118.

διπλῆ and contrasted with ἁπλοΐς.[1] It was single, but thrown twice over the shoulder, where it was fastened with a brooch.[2]

IV. In the earliest times the Greeks wore their hair long, and thus they are constantly called in Homer καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί, "the long-haired Achæi." This ancient practice was preserved by the Spartans for many centuries. Long and well-dressed hair indeed was generally considered as an ornament. Hence the epithet ἐϋπλόκαμος applied to Eos (Aurora), Artemis (Diana), and the Nymphs; and ξανθός to Achilles, Ulysses, Menelaus, &c. The feet were protected by leathern soles (πέδιλα, ὑποδήματα), which were bound under the foot, when they went out. The Homeric heroes, however, are represented without shoes when armed for battle.

V. Even in peaceful assemblies the Homeric hero wore his sword, which hung, as already mentioned, by a belt from the shoulder to the hip. For the sword was honorable; it graced the freeman and the guest.[3] This explains why the suitors in the Odyssey always wear their arms while carousing.[4]



CHAPTER XXII.

FOOD OF HOMERIC TIMES—MEALS, &c.

I. Among the prepared food of Homeric times is especially mentioned wheaten bread (ἄρτος in the Odyssey,[5] in other passages σῖτος, a term used to express all sorts of food[6]), and also barley bread (ἄλφιτα), cheese (τυρός), roasted flesh (κρέας ὀπτόν) of oxen, sheep, hogs, &c.

II. The general name for meat, or, rather, for every thing eaten with bread, was ὄψον (ὄψα), which at a later period was especially applied to fish, a diet little esteemed, it would appear, in the Heroic age, and never mentioned as forming a part of the Homeric feasts, which followed the sacrifices. And yet Homer describes the Hellespont as abounding in fish (Ἑλλήσποντον ἰχθυόεντα[7]), and more than once alludes to the practice of drawing them thence with hook and line.[8] Nets also are spoken of in the Iliad;[9] but, as Eustathius remarks, there is only one passage[10] in which the poet mentions their being used in taking fish. If, therefore, fish were really eaten in

[1] *Il.*, xxiv., 230; *Od.*, xxiv., 276. [2] *Il.*, x., 133. [3] *Od.*, iv., 309.
[4] *Id.*, xxii., 190. [5] *Id.*, xvii., 343.
[6] *Il.*, ix., 706; xix., 306; *Od.*, iii., 479; iv., 746; ix., 87, &c. [7] *Il.*, ix., 4, 360.
[8] *Id.*, xvi., 408, &c. [9] *Id.*, v., 487. [10] *Id., l. c.*; *Eustath. ad Od.*, xxiv., 364.

these days, their consumption was very probably confined to the lower orders.

III. The drink was usually wine mixed with water. They had also a mixed drink called *κυκεών*, which Hecamede, in the Iliad, prepares for the aged Nestor. It was a draught composed of barley-meal, grated cheese, and Pramnian wine ;[1] to which Circe, on another occasion, adds honey.[2] Its consistency appears to have been that of a thick soup, as may be inferred from its being called *σῖτος* in the Odyssey. At a later day, various ingredients were used, especially for medical purposes, and various names were given to the *κυκεών*.[3]

IV. Athenæus,[4] who has entered fully into the subject, remarks on the singular simplicity of the Homeric banquets, in which kings and private men all partake of the same food. It was common even for royal personages to prepare their own meals,[5] and Ulysses[6] declares himself no mean proficient in the culinary art.

V. Three names of meals occur in the Iliad and Odyssey, *ἄριστον*, *δεῖπνον*, *δόρπον*. This division of the meals is ascribed, in a fragment of Æschylus, quoted by Athenæus,[7] to Palamedes. The word *ἄριστον* uniformly means the early meal (*ἀμ' ἠοῖ*),[8] as *δόρπον* does the late one ; but *δεῖπνον*, on the other hand, is used for either,[9] apparently without any reference to time. We should be careful, however, how we argue from the unsettled habits of a camp to the regular customs of ordinary life.

VI. From numerous passages in the Iliad and Odyssey it appears to have been usual to sit during meal times. In the palace of Telemachus, before eating, a servant brings Minerva, who is habited as a stranger, the *χέρνιψ*, or lustral water, "in a golden pitcher, pouring it over a silver vessel,"[10] a custom to which we have already alluded.[11]

VII. Beef, mutton, and goat's flesh were the ordinary meats, usually eaten roasted ; yet, from a passage in the Iliad,[12] we learn that boiled meats were held to be far from unsavory. Cheese, flour, and occasionally fruits, also formed part of the Homeric meals. Bread, brought on in baskets,[13] and salt (*ἅλς*, to which Homer gives the epithet *θεῖος*, "divine"), are also mentioned. From a passage in the Odyssey,[14] the latter appears, even at this early period, to have been

1 *Il.*, xi., 638.
2 *Od.*, x., 234.
3 *Foës., Œcon. Hipp., s. v.*
4 *Athen.*, i., p. 8.
5 *Il.*, ix., 206, *seqq.*
6 *Od.*, xv., 322.
7 *Athen.*, i., p. 11.
8 *Od.*, xvi., 2.
9 *Il.*, ii., 381 ; *Od.*, xvii., 170.
10 *Od.*, i., 136.
11 Page 73.
12 *Il.*, xxi., 363.
13 *Id.*, ix., 217.
14 *Od.*, xvii., 455.

a symbol of hospitality; while in another passage of the same poem,[1] an ignorance of its use is regarded as the mark of a strange people.

VIII. Each guest appears to have had his own table, and he who was first in rank presided over the rest. Each received an equal portion of both food and drink, with the exception of the most honored guest, who had a larger share than the rest. Menelaus, at the marriage feast of Hermione, begins the banquet by taking in his hands the side of a roasted ox, and placing it before his friends.[2] At the same entertainment music and dancing are introduced. The divine minstrel hymned to the sound of the lyre, and two tumblers (*κυβιστητῆρε*) began the festive strain, wheeling round in the midst.

IX. The names of several articles of the festive board occur in the Iliad and the Odyssey. Knives, spits, cups of various shapes and sizes, bottles made of goat-skin, casks, &c., are all mentioned. Many sorts of wine were in use among the heroes; some of Nestor's is remarked on as being eleven years old. The Maronean wine, so called from Maron, a hero, was especially celebrated, and would bear mingling with twenty times its own quantity of water. It may be observed that wine was seldom, if ever, drunk pure. The guests drank to each other, and Ulysses pledges Achilles with the words *χαῖρ' Ἀχιλεῦ*.[3] The wine was drawn from a larger vessel named *κρητήρ* (Attic *κρατήρ*), in which it had been mixed with water, into the cups from which it was drunk, and was handed round by the attendants. Before drinking, libations were made to the gods by pouring some of the contents of the cup on the ground.[4]

X. The interesting scene between Ulysses and the swineherd[5] gives a parallel view of early manners in a lower grade of life. After a welcome has been given to the stranger, the swineherd cleaves the wood, and they place the swine of five years' old on the hearth. In the goodness of his heart, Eumæus forgets not the immortal gods, and dedicates the firstling lock with a prayer for Ulysses's return. He next smites the animal with a piece of cleft wood, and the attendants singe off the hair. He then cuts the raw meat all round from the limbs, and laying it in the rich fat, and sprinkling flour upon it, throws it on the fire as an offering (*ἀπαρχή*) to the gods; the rest the attendants cut up and pierce with spits, and having cooked it with cunning skill, draw off all, and lay the mess on the tables. Then the swineherd stands up to divide the portions, seven portions in all, five for himself and the guests, and one apiece to Mercury and the Nymphs.

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[1] *Od.*, xi., 122. [2] *Id.*, iv., 65. [3] *Il.*, ix., 225.
[4] *Id.*, vii., 480. [5] *Od.*, xiv., 420.

XI. There is nothing more worthy of remark in the Homeric manners than the hospitality shown to strangers. Before it is known who they are or whence they come, it is the custom of the times to give them a welcome reception. When Nestor and his sons saw the strangers, "they all came in a crowd, and saluted them with the hand, and made them sit down at the feast on soft fleeces by the sea-shore."

CHAPTER XXIII.

HOMERIC DWELLINGS.

I. The scanty notices of the palatial and domestic architecture of the early Greeks, which we find in Homer, are insufficient to give any very accurate notion of the names, uses, and arrangement of the apartments; besides which, allowance must no doubt be made for poetical exaggeration. The general plan, however, was not very different from that of later abodes. The chief point of dissimilarity appears to have been the large court-yard in front of the house, which was wanting at least in the ordinary town dwellings of later times. In our account of the Homeric abodes, we shall follow, in general, the authority of Hirt.[1]

II. The Homeric abode consisted of three parts, the court, the apartments of the men, and the apartments of the women; so arranged, however, that one could pass from the first into the second, and from the second into the third. Homer, in speaking of the house of Paris, gives these component parts in a reversed order, *θάλαμον, καὶ δῶμα, καὶ αὐλήν*.[2]

III. The houses, whether of the poor or the rich, appear to have been always surrounded by a kind of inclosure. The hut, for instance, of the swineherd Eumæus, was encircled by a stone fence, along which, on the inside, he had planted a hedge of prickly pear, while on the outside there was a palisade of oak stakes.[3] The military hut (tent) of Achilles was in like manner surrounded by a strong and close paling.

IV. In the case of the more regular abodes of the wealthy and powerful, the arrangement was as follows: The building was surrounded, in the first instance, by a stone wall (*τοῖχος*), with battlements, and of a height sufficient to render all within perfectly secure. This wall inclosed a large court-yard (*αὐλή*), divided into two parts. The first and larger one was intended to be a kind of farm-

[1] *Gesch. der Baukunst*, vol. i., p. 208, *seqq.* [2] *Il.*, vi., 312. [3] *Od.*, xiv., 5, *seqq.*

yard. Within were the heaps of manure, harrows, ploughs, carts, wagons, stacks of hay and corn; and hither were driven in their numerous flocks and herds, to protect them from wild beasts and nightly marauders. The entrance gate was guarded by ban-dogs. Along the inner walls of this inclosure, the cattle-sheds would appear, in remoter ages, to have been ranged, where afterward, in Homeric times, stood suites of chambers for the domestics, or piazzas or colonnades (*αἴθουσαι*), to serve as covered walks in extremely hot or bad weather. From this main or outer court-yard one passed by a gate into an inner court, in the centre of which stood the altar of *Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος*, the household Jove, on which family sacrifices were offered up.[1]

V. This inner court was also surrounded by piazzas or colonnades, in which were the sleeping apartments of the guests,[2] or strangers; and that portion of the colonnade which faced the entrance into this court was immediately connected with the vestibule (*πρόδομος*) of the mansion, through an opening or entrance in the centre. The term *αἴθουσα*, as indicating a colonnade or portico, is only used by Homer, and is probably put for *αἴθουσα στοά*. In its primitive sense it means a portico exposed to the sun. The colonnade around the inner court was also the place of reception for people flocking to the palace on public occasions,[3] and hence, perhaps, the epithet *ἐρίδουπος* (loud-resounding, noisy),[4] which Homer usually connects with it. The town houses, or ordinary dwellings of Homeric times, appear, on the other hand, to have had the forecourt of comparatively small dimensions, so that the vestibule was not far removed from the street, since in the description of the shield we find the women standing in the porch to behold the dancers and enjoy the music of the nuptial procession.[5]

VI. The vestibule, or *πρόδομος*, appears to have been a large room, or rather hall, around which were ranged the sleeping apartments of the male members of the family and the more honored guests, bathing-rooms, &c.; and from this one passed by a door into the men's apartment or hall (*δῶμα*, in later Greek *ἀνδρών* or *ἀνδρωνῖτις*). This last was the principal part of the house, and in it the men assembled for social intercourse, feasting, &c. Even females were not entirely excluded from this part of the abode. In the palace of Alcinous, Arete sits in the men's hall, near the hearth;[6] Helen also comes forth from her apartment, in the abode of Menelaus, into the

[1] *Od.*, xxii., 334, 379.
[2] *Id.*, iii., 399; iv., 297, vii., 336, &c.
[3] *Il.*, xxiv., 239; *Od.*, viii., 57.
[4] *Od.*, iii., 399; vii., 345, &c.
[5] *Il.*, xviii., 496.
[6] *Od.*, vi., 305.

men's hall, to take part with her husband in the conversation with Telemachus;[1] Penelope, moreover, whenever she wishes to show herself to the suitors, is accustomed to place herself, attended by her maidens, at the door leading from her apartments into the hall of the men; while in another part of the poem she is actually represented as occupying a seat therein, and listening to the narrative of the disguised Ulysses.[2]

VII. The men's hall was of an oblong form, and was divided off by means of columns into three parts, in the direction of its length, the central part being the largest, since it was intended to hold the guests at meals. The two side parts were for the convenience of the attendants in waiting on the guests, and also, as Hirt thinks, for the preparation of the food;[3] though, according to Voss, the food was not prepared in the open hall, but in the *tholos* (θόλος), a vaulted kitchen in the vestibule or *πρόδομος*. The hall was probably lighted by means of unglazed windows, placed high up near the ceiling. That they were thus placed would appear from the circumstance of none of the suitors having escaped through them in the conflict with Ulysses.

VIII. The innermost part of the abode contained the apartments of the women, called by Homer θάλαμος, in later Greek *γυναικών* or *γυναικωνῖτις*. This lay immediately behind the men's hall, and communicated with it by a door, at which the women showed themselves to the men, or else by which they entered the men's apartment. Access to the women's apartments was allowed not only to the master of the house and the sons, but also to near relations, retainers, &c. Hector, for instance, enters the apartment of Helen, where he finds Paris employed in furbishing his armor, and Helen and her female attendants present.[4] So, again, not only the herald and the swineherd come into the apartment of Penelope,[5] but the latter also orders the as yet unknown Ulysses to be called in.[6]

IX. The women's apartments consisted of two stories, which appears to have been the case also with the whole house of Ulysses. The main room was the hall, where the mistress of the house sat and worked with her maidens.[7] Penelope, however, had also a separate room in the upper story (ὑπερῳΐῳ) where she plyed the loom. The unmarried daughters, moreover, lived in the women's hall, as, for instance, Nausicaa.[8] To this part of the abode also belonged the sleeping room of the master and mistress of the family.

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1 *Od.*, iv., 121. 2 *Id.*, xix., 53. 3 Compare *Od.*, xviii., 43.
4 *Il.*, vi., 321. 5 *Od.*, xvi., 335, *seqq.* 6 *Id.*, xvii., 508.
7 *Il.*, vi., 323; xxii., 440; *Od.*, xviii., 312. 8 *Od.*, vi., 15; vii., 13.

This was probably in the upper story, since Penelope slept in an upper chamber, where she was accustomed also to spend most of her time.[1] Connected with the women's hall were the sleeping apartments of the handmaidens, and bathing rooms for their use.[2]

X. Under the whole dwelling was a cellar or vault, in which not only the valuables and clothing of the family were kept, but also vessels of wine and oil, stores of meal, provisions, &c.[3]

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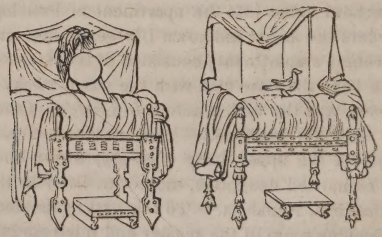
CHAPTER XXIV.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE.

I. Tables in the Homeric age were generally made of wood, of variegated colors, finely polished, and with ornamented feet. The term employed to indicate a table (*τράπεζα*) shows that it had four feet originally, although this same term is commonly used in Greek for a table of any kind. A table with three legs was called *τρίπους*. From the language of Homer,[4] and the explanation of Eustathius,[5] it appears that the *τράπεζα*, in those days, was a narrow parallelogram, like our dining-tables. At meals the tables were not covered with cloths, but were cleansed by means of wet sponges.[6]

II. Besides the divans or seats running around the room, they had chairs (*θρόνοι*), richly carved, and adorned with silver studs,[7] and so high that they required a foot-stool (*θρῆνυς*).[8] They were sometimes covered with cushions, and drapery or coverlets (*τάπησι πορφυρέοισι*). The *δίφρος*, on the other hand, was a low seat for persons of inferior condition, on which a fleece was commonly spread. Some idea of the form and decorations of the *θρόνος* may be obtained from the following wood-cut, taken from a painting found at Resina.



[1] *Od.*, i., 330; ii., 358; xvi., 449.
[2] *Il.*, xxii., 444. Compare *Od.*, iv., 750.
[3] *Od.*, ii., 337; xv., 99; *Il.*, vi., 288.
[4] *Od.*, i., 111, 138.
[5] *Ad Od., l. c.*
[6] *Od., l. c.*
[7] *Id.*, vii., 162.
[8] *Il.*, xiv., 240; *Od.*, i., 131; x., 315.

III. The bedsteads were generally made of common wood, such as deal, bottomed sometimes with planks, sometimes with ox-hide thongs traversing each other, and at other times, again, the bed was supported by a sort of netting of strong cord, stretched across the bedstead, and made fast all round. Ulysses's bedstead, which the hero had wrought with his own hands, was made of olive wood, inlaid with gold, silver, and ivory. It is to this kind of inlaid work that Homer is supposed by some to allude, in the well-known expression *τρητοῖς λεχέεσσιν*,[1] while others explain the epithet *τρητοῖς* of the holes through which the cords or girths of the bedstead were drawn.

IV. The principal parts of a bed were the *χλαῖναι* and *ῥήγεα*.[2] The former were a kind of thick woollen cloak, which, as we have already remarked, was in bad weather worn by men over their *chiton*, and was sometimes spread over a chair to render the seat soft These *χλαῖναι* served as blankets by night.[3] The *ῥήγεα*, on the other hand, were probably a softer and more costly kind of woollen cloth, and were used chiefly by persons of high rank. To render this thick woollen stuff less disagreeable, a linen cloth was sometimes spread over it.[4]

V. It has been supposed that the *ῥήγεα* were pillows or bolsters; but this opinion seems to be refuted by the circumstance that in a passage of the Odyssey[5] they are described as being washed, without any thing being said as to any operation which would necessarily have preceded the operation had they been pillows. Beyond this supposition respecting the *ῥήγεα*, we have no traces of pillows or bolsters being used in the Homeric age. The bedsteads of persons of high rank were covered with fleeces or skins (*κώεα*), upon which the *ῥήγεα* were placed, and over these linen sheets or carpets were spread; the *χλαῖνα*, lastly, served as a cover or blanket for the sleeper.[6] Poor persons slept on skins, or beds of dry herbs spread on the ground.[7] These simple beds, to which, shortly after the Homeric age, a pillow for the head was added, continued to be used by the poorer classes among the Greeks at all times. Thus the bed of the orator Lycurgus is said to have consisted of one sheepskin (*κώδιον*) and a pillow.[8]

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1 *Il.*, iii., 448, &c.
2 *Od.*, xix., 337.
3 *Id.*, xiv., 488, 500, 504, &c.; xx., 4.
4 *Id.*, xiii., 73.
5 *Id.*, vi., 38.
6 *Id.*, iv., 296, &c.; *Il.*, xxiv., 643, &c.; ix., 660, &c.
7 *Od.*, xiv., 519; xx., 139; xi., 188, &c.
8 *Plut., Vit. Dec. Orat., Lycurg.*, p. 842, c.

CHAPTER XXV.

BATHS.

I. BATHING was a practice familiar to the Greeks of both sexes from the earliest times, both in fresh water and salt, and in the natural warm springs as well as vessels artificially heated. Thus Nausicaa, daughter of Alcinous, king of Phæacia, goes out with her attendants to wash her clothes, and, after the task is done, she bathes herself in the river.[1] Ulysses, who is conducted to the same spot, strips and takes a bath, while Nausicaa and her attendants stand aside.[2] Europa also bathes in the River Anaurus,[3] and Helen and her companions in the Eurotas.[4]

II. Warm springs were also resorted to for the purpose of bathing. The Ἡράκλεια λουτρά shown by Vulcan or Minerva to Hercules are celebrated by the poets. Pindar speaks of the hot baths of the Nymphs (θερμὰ Νυμφᾶν λουτρά),[5] and Homer[6] celebrates one of the streams of the Scamander for its warm temperature. The artificial warm bath was taken in a vessel called ἀσάμινθος by Homer, and ἔμβασις by Athenæus.[7] It would appear, from the description of the bath administered to Ulysses in the palace of Circe, that this vessel did not contain water itself, but was only used for the bather to sit in while the warm water was poured over him, which was heated in a large caldron or tripod, under which the fire was placed, and, when sufficiently warmed, was taken out in other vessels and poured over the head and shoulders of the person who sat in the ἀσάμινθος.[8]

III. When cleanliness merely was the object sought, cold bathing was adopted, which was considered as most bracing to the nerves; but after violent bodily exertion or fatigue warm water was made use of, in order to refresh the body and relax the over tension of the muscles.[9]

IV. The ἀσάμινθος was of polished marble, and sometimes of silver. Indulgence in the warm bath, however, was considered, in Homer's time, a mark of effeminacy.[10] The use of the warm bath was preceded by bathing in cold water.[11] The later custom of plunging

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[1] *Od.*, vi., 58, 65. [2] *Id. ib.*, 210, *seqq.* [3] *Mosch., Id.*, ii., 31.
[4] *Theocr., Id.*, vii., 22. [5] *Olymp.*, xii., 27. [6] *Il.*, xxii., 149.
[7] *Athen.*, i., p. 25. [8] *Od.*, x., 359, *seqq.* [9] *Il.*, x., 576; *Od.*, iv., 48, &c.
[10] *Od.*, viii., 248. [11] *Il.*, x., 576.

into cold water after the warm bath appears to have been borrowed from the Romans. After bathing, both sexes anointed themselves with oil, in order that the skin might not be left harsh and rough, especially after warm water.[1] The use of precious unguents (*μύρα*) was unknown at that early period. In the Heroic ages, as well as later times, refreshments were usually taken after the bath.[2]

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CHAPTER XXVI.

FUNERAL RITES.

I. The hónor paid to the dead was a proof of that advanced civilization which generally distinguished the age of Homer. To utter no wailings for the dead, to throw no clod of earth into their graves, kindled the vengeance of the deity.[3] No duty, however, seemed more urgent than to divest the lifeless body of that terrible appearance from which every mortal heart recoils, when it remains with unclosed eyes and open mouth. It was not till both were closed that the body could become a subject of religious rites, and this sacred duty therefore devolved on the hand of love. To hang over the bed of her husband with sobs and lamentations, to receive the last pressure of his hand, the last word to his survivors, and, when all was past, to close his eyes, beseemed a wife, for thus did she do honor (*γέρας*) to the dead.[4] It was a religious observance to clasp the head of the departed being during the lament.

II. The body, after being washed with warm water, was anointed with oil.[5] If there were any wounds, they were filled with oil nine years old. It was then laid on a carpet, and covered from head to foot with the finest linen.[6] The feet were placed toward the door,[7] the only position sanctioned by religion. A shroud (*φᾶρος ταφήϊον*)[8] was the indispensable apparel of the dead. After the body was thus prepared, the death-wail began,[9] the solemn form of which is related on occasion of Hector's obsequies, and which still survives in the lament of the Oriental nations. It was customary also to cut off the hair and cast it on the body, as an ornament inconsistent with sorrow.

III. The intensity of grief went still further in defacing corporeal

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1 *Od.*, vi., 96; *Il.*, xiv., 172; xxiii., 186.
2 *Od.*, vi., 97.
3 *Id.*, xi., 72.
4 *Id.*, xxiv., 295; *Il.*, xi., 424, 452.
5 *Il.*, xviii., 345; xxiv., 285.
6 *Id.*, xxiii., 353; *Od.*, ii., 97.
7 *Pers.*, *Sat.*, iii., 103.
8 *Od.*, ii., 97.
9 *Il.*, xxi., 123; *Od.*, xxiv., 294.

beauty. They beat their heads,[1] tore their hair,[2] strewed dust upon their heads; the women tore their cheeks and beat their breasts; they threw themselves on the ground; abstained from the bath and from food; and suicide[3] was a not unfrequent proof of the grief that knows no bounds. Mourners wore black garments, and women tore that graceful vail of hair in which mourners are elsewhere wont to shroud themselves. These extreme demonstrations of woe lasted for days; so long, indeed, that they appear to us incompatible with the effects of the climate; for the body of Achilles was not buried by his comrades until the eighteenth day, unless with Heyne[4] we understand this to be a loose way of stating round numbers in general use.

IV. The general prevalence of the custom of burning, which we remark in Homer (for even the people carried off by the plague received these funeral rites), has given occasion to the inquiry whence the Greeks derived it. Böttiger, in a dissertation well worthy of attention,[5] traces its origin to Phœnicia. Sometimes, but rarely, the weapons of the deceased were burned with the body. The practice of slaughtering slaves or captives at the funeral pile[6] is clearly not of Hellenic origin. In a later age, Greek piety interposed to put a stop to human sacrifices, even among neighboring nations; and even in the earliest times, whenever they appear, they must be regarded as indications of unhellenic barbarism.

V. The bier upon which the body of the departed lay was borne to the huge funeral pyre by the nearest kindred and friends. At the front of the solemn train was the dearest of all, holding the head. The body was then laid upon the pile, and was thickly smeared from head to foot with grease, in order that the operation of the flames might be more rapid; for the same reason, jars of oil and honey were placed around it. The sacrifice of the animals which had been the favorites of the deceased, and then that of the captive slaves, was the office of the chief mourner or performer of the obsequies, whose mournful duty it was not to leave the pile so long as the fire continued to burn, but to quicken the flames with libations of wine, while he called aloud upon the departed.

VI. The smouldering ashes were at length extinguished with dark red wine. Then followed the gathering together of the bones by friends and kinsmen. The distinguishing them from the ashes of the wood was attended with continual doubts and uncertainties. Probably the position of the body afforded the best means of making

[1] *Il.*, xxii., 33. [2] *Id.*, xviii., 27. [3] *Id.*, xviii., 34.
[4] *Ad Il.*, xxiv., 31. [5] *Kunstmythologie*, v. i., p. 26. [6] *Il.*, xxiii., 171.

the division. The ashes of those burned by the side of the pile seem to have been unheeded; and, indeed, this honor seems to have been paid only to the most distinguished personages. The dead in the house of Ulysses were only buried.[1]

VII. The bones, after being collected, were placed in an urn or vase, the material of which varied according to the rank of the deceased. Achilles places the bones of Patroclus in an urn (φιάλη) of gold, which was wrapped round with fine linen, and placed in his tent. The Greeks subsequently deposited this urn, together with that containing the ashes of Achilles, under a mound of earth heaped up in a circular form. It does not appear, in the case of these mounds, that the Greeks had any means of recording by inscription the name of the individual. It was usual to adorn the mound with a pillar. The simpler and more primitive custom, however, was to mark it by a post, with two stones placed leaning against it. We find but one instance of an attempt to commemorate the occupation of the departed by any type or mark upon the tomb, and that is in the mention of Elpenor's grave. He entreats Ulysses, in the lower world, to fix an oar upon his tomb; we afterward find his injunction complied with.

VIII. Games and a funeral feast were, however, necessary to the consummation and perfection of the burial rites. The former are described in detail in the twenty-third book of the Iliad, where Nestor, while witnessing the games given by Achilles in honor of his friend, mentions those at which he had contended in his youth.

[1] *Od.*, xxiv., 417.

Aug. 21. 1852.

II.

SPARTA.

Aug. 23. 1852.

SPARTA (ἡ Σπάρτα).

CHAPTER I.

CHOROGRAPHY.

I. The country of which Sparta was the capital was called Λακωνική (*scil.* γῆ). The Roman writers, however, term it *Laconia*. It was bounded on the north by *Arcadia* and *Argolis*, on the west by *Messenia*, on the east by the *Mare Ægæum*, and on the south by the *Sinus Laconicus*.

II. Laconia is a long, narrow valley, running from north to south, and lying between two mountain masses, which stretch from Arcadia to the southern extremities of the Peloponnesus. The western range, which terminated in the promontory of Tænarus, now Cape *Matapan*, was called *Taÿgĕtus*; and the eastern one, terminating in the promontory of Malea, now Cape *S. Angelo*, was known by the names of Parnon, Thornax, and Zarex.

III. The whole drainage of this valley is collected in the River Eurōtas, now the *Iri* or *Basilipotamo*, which flows from the high lands of Arcadia, and is joined by the Œnus, a little above Sparta. From its source to its junction with this stream, the Eurotas flows through a very deep and narrow valley, which near Sparta is so much contracted as to leave room for little more than the channel of the river. After it leaves Sparta, the hills recede farther from the river; but near Œnoë they again approach it for a short distance, and afterward retire to the west and east, toward the capes of Tænarus and Malea respectively, leaving between them a plain of considerable breadth, through which the Eurotas flows to the sea.

IV. Leake describes the soil of Laconia as in general a poor mixture of white clay and stones, difficult to plough, and better suited to olives than corn. This description is in conformity to that of Euripides, who says that it possessed much arable land, but difficult to work.

V. Strabo informs us that there were some valuable stone quarries near Tænarus, and in the mountains of Taÿgetus; and Pausanias also speaks of the shell-fish on the coast, which produced a dye inferior only to the Tyrian. Laconia was subject, in common with

the southern countries of Greece, to earthquakes, the most remarkable of which occurred B.C. 462, and destroyed the whole of the city of Sparta, with the exception of five houses.

VI. Laconia is well described by Euripides as difficult of access to an enemy. On the west, the range of Taÿgetus formed an almost insuperable barrier to any invading force; and on the north there were only two natural passes by which the country could be entered, one by the valley of the Upper Eurotas, as the course of that river above Sparta may be termed, and the other by the valley of the Œnus. Both of these natural openings led to Sparta, which shows how admirably the capital was situated for purposes of defence. The want of good harbors also protected the country from invasion by sea, and the possession of the island of Cythēra, therefore, in the Sinus Laconicus, was always considered a point of great importance.

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CAPITAL.

I. Sparta, also called Lacedæmon, was the capital of Laconia, and the chief city of the Peloponnesus. It was situate on the right bank of the Eurotas, about twenty miles from the sea, and stood in a plain which contained within it several rising grounds and hills. This plain was shut in on the east by Mount Menelaius, and on the west by Mount Taÿgetus, whence the city is called by Homer "the hollow Lacedæmon" (*κοίλη Λακεδαίμων*).

II. Sparta was of a circular form, about six miles in circumference, and consisted of several distinct quarters, which were originally separate villages, and which were never united into one regular town. Its site is occupied by the modern villages of *Magula* and *Psykhiko;* and the principal modern town in the neighborhood is *Mistra*, which lies about two miles to the west, on the slopes of Mount Taÿgetus.

III. During the flourishing times of Greek independence, Sparta was never surrounded by walls, since the bravery of its citizens, and the difficulty of access to it, were supposed to render such defences needless. It was first fortified by the tyrant Nabis; but it did not possess regular walls till the time of the Romans. Unlike most Greek cities, it had no proper Acropolis, but this name was only given to one of the steepest hills of the town, on the summit of which stood the temple of Minerva *Poliuchus* or *Chalciœcus*.

IV. Five distinct quarters of the city are mentioned:[1] 1. *Pitane* (Πιτάνη), which appears to have been the most important part of the town, and in which was situated the Agora or forum, containing the council house of the senate, and the offices of the magistrates. It was also surrounded by various temples and other public buildings. Of these the most splendid was the *Persian Stoa*, or portico, originally built of the spoils taken in the Persian war, and enlarged and adorned at later times. A part of the Agora was called the *Chorus*, or dancing place, in which the Spartan youth performed dances in honor of Apollo. 2. *Limnæ* (Λίμναι), a suburb of the city, on the banks of the Eurotas, northeast of Pitane. This was originally a hollow spot covered with water. 3. *Mesoa* or *Messoa* (Μεσόα, Μεσσόα), also by the side of the Eurotas, southeast of the preceding, containing the *Dromus* and *Platanistas*, two exercise-grounds, the latter of which derived its name from the plane-trees growing there. 4. *Cynosura* (Κυνόςουρα), in the southwest of the city, and south of Pitane. 5. *Ægĭdæ* (Αἰγεῖδαι), in the northwest of the city, and to the west of Pitane.

V. The two principal streets of Sparta ran from the Agora to the extreme ends of the city: these were, 1. *Aphetæ* or *Aphetaïs* (Ἀφέται, Ἀφεταΐς, *scil.* ὁδός), extending in a southeastern direction; and, 2. *Skias* (Σκιάς), running nearly parallel to the preceding one, but farther to the east, and which derived its name from an ancient place of assembly, of a circular form, called Skias. The most important remains of Sparta, at the present day, are the ruins of the theatre, which was near the Agora.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE.

1. *Ancient History.*

I. The most ancient inhabitants of the land were the Pelasgi and Lelĕges, who were subsequently conquered by the Achæi, in the possession of which latter race we find the country at the time of the Trojan war. In the mythical period Argos was the chief city of the Peloponnesus, and Sparta is represented as subject to it. In this latter place reigned Menelaus, the younger brother of Agamemnon; and by the marriage of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, with Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, the two kingdoms of Argos and Sparta became united.

[1] *Pausan.*, iii., 11.

II. The Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus, which, according to tradition, took place eighty years after the Trojan war, made Sparta the capital of Laconia, the city of Amyclæ having been before this the more important place; and the old inhabitants of Laconia maintained themselves at Amyclæ for a long period after this. On the division of the Peloponnesus among the Dorians, Laconia had fallen to the lot of the two sons of Aristodemus, Eurysthenes and Procles, who ruled conjointly.

III. After the complete subjugation of Laconia by the Dorians, we find three distinct classes in the population; namely, 1. The *Dorian conquerors*, who resided in the capital, Sparta, and who were called Spartiatæ or Spartans. 2. The *Periœci*, or old Achæan inhabitants, who became tributary to the Spartans, and possessed no political rights; and, 3. The *Helots*, who were also a portion of the old Achæans, but were reduced to a state of slavery. We will make more particular mention of these classes in the succeeding chapter.

IV. The number of Helots was greatly increased at the end of the second Messenian war, in consequence of the conquered Messenians having been reduced to slavery and included under this denomination. The greater part of Messenia had belonged to the empire of the Atridæ, but was separated from it at the Doric immigration. The Spartans, after their conquest of the country, held it until the battle of Leuctra, when it was enfranchised by the Thebans.

V. We may remark in conclusion here, that when the Dorians invaded the Peloponnesus, the only Pelasgic tribe remaining was that of the Arcadians, who long retained their independence. At Corinth the Sisyphĭdæ were the rulers, in Southern Elis the Nelĭdæ (both of Æolian extraction); in Northern Elis, the Epeans, and in Ægialos or Achaia, the Ionians. Eventually, however, the greater part of the Peloponnesus fell under the power of the Dorians, while Northern Elis became the possession of the Ætolians. Between Laconia and Argolis lay the district of Cynuria, the inhabitants of which are mentioned by Herodotus as autochthŏnes of Ionic descent, who were *Doricized* by the Argives. This district was a perpetual source of contention between the Lacedæmonians and Argives, until it was subdued by the former, B.C. 550.

2. *Administration of Lycurgus.*

I. We know very little of the Lacedæmonian state during the times which immediately succeeded the Doric immigration. At a very early period it seems to have been the theatre of contentions

between the kings and people. Lycurgus, however (about B.C. 825), re-established order by creating, or, to speak more correctly, shaping and strengthening out of elements which already existed, a constitution, built upon the solid foundation of hereditary custom and precedent. This form of government, while it permitted to the citizens the right of laboring for their own support, at the same time strictly enforced the subjection of the individual to the commonwealth; man's whole existence was to be circumscribed within the limits of the citizen's political life; foreign influence to be excluded; and the foundation of independence, moderation, and political union to be laid in strictly-defined and unchangeable regulations.

II. Lycurgus was the founder of a warlike brotherhood rather than the lawgiver of a political community. His aim appears to have been exclusively warlike. The Spartans formed, as it were, an army of invaders in an enemy's country; their city was a camp, and every man a soldier. At Sparta the citizen only existed for the state; he had no interest but the state's, and no property but what belonged to the state.[1] This was done in order to secure to the commonwealth a large number of citizens and soldiers, free from labor for their sustenance, and able to devote their whole time to warlike exercises, in order thus to keep up the ascendency of Sparta over her Perioeci and Helots. The Spartans were to be warriors, and nothing but warriors. Therefore, not only all mechanical labor was thought to degrade them; not only was husbandry despised and neglected, and commerce prevented, or, at least, impeded by prohibitive laws and by the use of iron money, but also the noble arts and sciences were so effectually stifled, that Sparta is a blank in the history of the arts and literature of Greece.

III. The state took care of a Spartan from his cradle to his grave, and superintended his education in the minutest points. This was not confined to his youth, but extended throughout his whole life. The *syssitia*, or, as they were called at Sparta, *phiditia*, the common meals, may be regarded as an educational institution; for at these meals subjects of general interest were discussed and political questions debated. The youths and boys used to eat separately from the men, in their own divisions.

[1] We have followed, in this and other particulars, the commonly received account. Grote, however, doubts the story of Lycurgus's having made a new partition of lands, &c. (*Hist. Gr.*, vol. ii., p. 521, *seqq.*)

3. *The rise of Sparta—Hegemony.*

I. The effect of the warlike spirit developed by such a constitution, and of strength thus concentrated, was first displayed in the subjugation of the remnant of Achæan inhabitants in the conquest of Messenia, and in successful wars with the Arcadians and Argives. At a later period, the Spartans gradually extended their influence over almost the whole of the Peloponnesus, mingling in all the affairs of the neighboring states, and especially strengthening their interest by the protection which they afforded to the aristocracy against tyranny on the one side, and democracy on the other.

II. This leadership, or *Hegemony* (ἡγεμονία), which was at first confined to the Peloponnesus, extended itself, after the Persian war, to the whole of Greece and the colonies, but found a powerful opponent in Athens. That state, it is true, was overthrown in the Peloponnesian war; but Sparta soon lost the fruits of her victory through her own overbearing and selfish policy, and the support which she always gave to the most hateful oligarchy, wherever it was to be found. In consequence of this conduct, not only Athens again, but for a short time even Thebes opposed her with success.

4. *Decline of Sparta.*

I. During the occurrence of these events the Spartan constitution had gradually been departing from its original character. Somewhat more than a hundred years after the time of Lycurgus, an important alteration was made by the establishment of the ephori, who were enabled to give a constitutional support to the people, and soon (partly through the degeneracy of the royal families) became more powerful than the kings themselves.

II. The constitution of Lycurgus was in fact suited only to a small state and a people of circumscribed views, who were firmly attached to the existing and traditional state of things. It imposed unnatural fetters on the free will and development of individuals, and consequently was shaken to its foundations as soon as the acquaintance with foreign countries, which was the natural result of wars, especially of maritime wars, taught the people to enlarge their political horizon. The consequence of this was the gradual dissolution of all the bands which united the citizen to the state, and the triumph of unlimited selfishness.

III. In proportion as the state itself, in opposition to the views of Lycurgus, sought an increase of dominion and subsequently of wealth, did the lust of power and yearning after riches take posses-

sion of the people. Even the kings and ephori, as well as the members of the senate, were pre-eminently open to bribery. Thus the form of government, partly through the decrease in the number of burghers (occasioned principally by their wars), and partly through the distribution of property, which gradually became more unequal, and the increasing mass of inhabitants, who, although free, had no voice in the state, was transformed into an oppressive oligarchy.

5. *Fall of the Spartan Commonwealth.*

I. In this manner the Spartan commonwealth gradually crumbled away, never regaining its full power, although it sometimes even yet played an important part. The attempt of Agis III. (B.C. 240) to restore the ancient order of things by a new division of land, and by the introduction of fresh burghers from among the Periœci, completely miscarried.[1]

II. Cleomĕnes III. (B.C. 226) was for a time more successful; for he abolished the ephorate, and endeavored to re-establish equality among the citizens, and restore the spirit of the Lycurgean constitution, but his projects were eventually overthrown by the Macedonians. At length the Romans interfered in the struggle between the Spartans and Achæans, and made themselves masters of the Peloponnesus (B.C. 146), permitting, however, a certain measure of freedom to Sparta. Even the institutions of Lycurgus retained in some degree their form until the fifth century of the Christian era.

CHAPTER IV.

INHABITANTS OF LACONIA.

1. SPARTANS.

I. The inhabitants of Laconia were either freemen or slaves. The former consisted partly of *Spartans* (Spartiatæ), partly of *Periœci*, *Mothāces*, *Nothi*, *Neodamōdes*, and foreigners.

II. The *Spartiatæ* (Σπαρτιᾶται) were the descendants of the original Dorian settlers, and the dominant race. They were the sole possessors of full political rights, and were all placed by the constitution on the same footing, whence they are called by the Greek writers ὅμοιοι. This fact, namely, that all free Spartans, with the exception of the two kings (as we shall presently show), had equal rights and privileges, constitutes Sparta itself a democracy, with

[1] Compare *Long's Plutarch*, Series i., p. 188.

two hereditary magistrates at its head; but in its relation to the subject towns and country of Laconia it was a rigid aristocracy.

III. The Spartiatæ[1] fulfilled all the exigencies of the Lycurgean discipline, paid their quota to the syssitia or public mess, and were alone eligible to honor or public offices. These men had neither time nor taste even for the cultivation of the land, still less for trade or handicraft. Such occupations were inconsistent with the prescribed training, even if they had not been positively interdicted. They were maintained from the lands round the city, and from the large proportion of Laconia which belonged to them; the land being tilled for them by Helots, who seem to have paid over to them a fixed proportion of the produce; in some cases at least, as much as half.

IV. We find in Sparta, as in all the Doric states, three *φυλαί* or tribes, namely, Ὑλλεῖς, Δυμᾶνες, and Πάμφυλοι, which, according to the legend, derived their appellations from Heracleid princes, but which, nevertheless, seem to indicate the three races, from the amalgamation of which the Doric people were formed. In some Dorian states we find a fourth tribe, probably a remnant of the original inhabitants.

V. The tribe Ὑλλεῖς, into which the Heraclidæ were admitted, had the first rank. The three tribes were divided into thirty *ὠβαί*, also called *φρατρίαι*, a word which signifies a union of families, whether founded upon ties of relationship, or formed for political purposes, irrespective of any such connection. Admittance to the rights of Spartan citizenship was not common until the time of Agis III. and Cleomenes III., who conferred this distinction on many of the Periœci. On the other hand, from the time of the Peloponnesian war, we find a steadily increasing class of free inhabitants without active political privileges.

In legal rights, as we have already intimated, all Spartans were equal; but there were yet several gradations, which, when once formed, retained their hold on the aristocratic feelings of the people. First, as we should naturally expect, there was the dignity of the Heracleid families, and, connected with this, a certain pre-eminence of the Hyllean tribe. Another distinction was that between the *ὅμοιοι* and *ὑπομείονες*, which, in later times, appears to have been considerable. The latter term probably comprehended those citizens who, from degeneracy of manners or other causes, had undergone some kind of civil degradation. To these the *ὅμοιοι* were opposed, although it is not certain in what the precise difference consisted.

[1] *Grote, Hist. Gr.*, vol. ii., p. 482.

2. FREE INHABITANTS, WHO WERE EXCLUDED BY BIRTH FROM THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP.

(A.) PERIŒCI.

I. The word *Periœci* (Περίοικοι) properly denotes the inhabitants of a district lying around some particular locality, but is generally used to describe a dependent population, living without the walls or in the country provinces of a dominant city, and, although personally free, deprived of the enjoyment of citizenship, and the political rights conferred by it.

II. A political condition, such as that of the Periœci of Greece, could hardly have originated in any thing else than foreign conquest, and the *Periœci* of Laconia furnish a striking illustration of this.[1] Their origin dates from the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus, when the old inhabitants of the country, the Achæans, submitted to their conquerors on certain conditions, by which, according to Ephorus,[2] they were left in possession of their private rights of citizenship (*ἰσοτιμία*), such as the right of intermarriage with the Dorians, and also of their political franchise. They suffered, indeed, a partial deprivation of their lands, and were obliged to submit to a king of foreign race, but still they remained equal in law to their conquerors, and were eligible to all offices of state except the sovereignty.[3] But this state of things did not last long; in the next generation after the conquest, either from the lust of increased dominion on the part of the Dorians, or from an unsuccessful attempt to gain their independence, the relation between the two parties was changed. The Achæans were reduced from citizens to vassals; and this brings us to the condition in which we find the Laconian Periœci in historical times.

III. The *Periœci* of historical times, then, were the inhabitants of the country as distinguished from the Spartiatæ, or inhabitants of the city. They possessed personal freedom and landed property, but their lands were subjected to a tax, not so much, perhaps, for the sake of revenue, as in token of their dependence.[4] They enjoyed no rights of citizenship (*ἰσοτιμία*), no right of intermarriage with the Dorians (which they had formerly possessed), no right of voting in

[1] We have here followed the commonly received opinion, which makes the Laconian Periœci to have been originally a subjugated race. Grote, however, takes a different view of the subject, and regards the Periœci as of Dorian origin, maintaining that no distinction of race whatever between them and the Spartans was known in historical times.—*Grote, Hist. Gr.*, vol. ii., p. 492.

[2] *Strab.*, viii., p. 364. [3] *Arnold, ad Thucyd.*, vol. i., p. 641. [4] *Ephor., l. c.*

the general assembly, and no eligibility to important offices in the state, such as that of senator, &c., which had also formerly been theirs. They were also compelled to perform military service ; and at the battle of Platææ, for instance, they supplied ten thousand men,[1] while at Sphacteria two hundred and ninety-two prisoners were taken, of whom one hundred and twenty were Spartans, and the rest *Periœci*.[2]

IV. It does not, however, appear that the *Periœci* of historical times were generally an oppressed people, though kept in a state of political inferiority to their conquerors. On the contrary, the most distinguished among them were admitted to offices of trust,[3] and sometimes invested with naval command,[4] but probably only because they were better suited for it than the Spartans themselves, who did not set a high value on good sailorship.

V. By way of compensation, moreover, the Periœci enjoyed many advantages (though not considered as privileges) which the Spartans did not. The trade and manufactures of the country were exclusively in their hands, and carried on by them with the more facility and profit as they occupied maritime towns. The cultivation of the arts, also, as well in the higher as in the lower departments, was confined to the Periœci, the Spartans considering it beneath themselves ; and many distinguished artists, such as embossers and brass-founders, were found in the Laconian schools, all of whom were probably Periœci.[5]

VI. It is not to be expected, however, that men competent to the discharge of high functions in a state, and bearing its burdens, should patiently submit to an exclusion from all political rights. Accordingly, we find that, on the rising of the Helots in B.C. 464, some of the Periœci joined them.[6] So, likewise, when the Thebans invaded Laconia (B.C. 369), the Periœci were ready to help them.[7] From these and other facts, it appears that the Periœci of Laconia, if not an oppressed, were sometimes a disaffected and discontented class ; though in cases of strong excitement, or of general danger to the whole of Greece, they identified themselves with their conquerors.

VII. The number of Laconian (as they are called), or subject cities, is said to have formerly amounted to one hundred.[8] Several of them lay on the coast, as Gythium, the port of Sparta, whence the whole coast of Laconia is called ἡ περιοικίς.[9] Many, however, lay more inland. The Periœci also occupied the island of Cythera,

[1] *Herod.*, ix., 61.
[2] *Müller, Dor.*, iii., 2, 3.
[3] *Thucyd.*, viii., 61.
[4] *Id.*, viii., 22.
[5] *Müller, Dor., l. c.*
[6] *Thucyd.*, i., 101.
[7] *Xen., Hell.*, vi., 5, 25.
[8] *Strab.*, viii., p. 362.
[9] *Thucyd.*, iii., 16.

at the port of which the Lacedæmonian merchants usually put in on their voyages home from Egypt and Libya.[1] It must not be supposed, however, that the Perioeci living in these towns were exclusively the descendants of the old inhabitants of the country. Some of them, on the contrary, were foreigners, who had either accompanied the Dorians on their invasion of Laconia, or been afterward invited by them to supply the place of the dispossessed Achæans. One of these cities, Boia, is even said to have been founded by an Heracleid chief; and another, Geronthræ, was peopled by colonists sent from Sparta, after it was evacuated by the old inhabitants.[2]

VIII. In the later times of Spartan history, the Perioecian towns on the coast were detached from Sparta by T. Quintius Flamininus, and placed under the protection of the Achæan league.[3] Subsequently to this the Emperor Augustus released twenty-four towns from their subjection to Sparta, and formed them into separate communities, under laws of their own. They were consequently called *Eleuthero-Lacones*.[4]

(B.) Μόθωνες, Μόθᾰκες, Νόθοι, Νεοδαμώδεις.

I. The μόθωνες or μόθᾰκες, as their name implies, were emancipated Helots who had been domestic slaves, and had been brought up with the young Spartans. Their descendants, too, must have received the rights of citizenship, as Callicratidas, Lysander, and Gylippus were of Mothaïc origin. We can not suppose, however, that they passed necessarily and of course into the full Spartan franchise; it is much more probable that at Sparta, as at Athens, intermarriages with citizens might at last entirely obliterate the badge of former servitude.[5]

II. The νόθοι were the sons of a Spartiat, either by a foreigner or a female Helot, and might become citizens by adoption.

III. The νεοδαμώδεις[6] were emancipated slaves or Helots. In the Peloponnesian war, for instance, Helots were employed as heavy-armed soldiers, with the promise of freedom; and in later times this mode of supplying the want of Hoplites or heavy-armed troops was often resorted to.

[1] *Thucyd.*, iv., 53; vii., 57.
[2] *Paus.*, iii., 22, 5.
[3] *Müller, Dor.*, iii., 2, 1; *Liv.*, xxxiv., 29; xxxviii., 31.
[4] *Paus.*, iii., 21, 6.
[5] *Müller*, iii., 3, 5.
[6] *Id., l. c.*

(C.) HELOTS (Εἵλωτες).

I. The Helots were a class of bondsmen subject to Sparta. They formed the rustic population, as distinguished both from the inhabitants of Sparta itself, and from the Periœci who dwelt in the large towns.[1] Their condition was that of serfs attached to the land (*adscripti glebæ*); and they appear to have been the only class of slaves among the Lacedæmonians.

II. Different etymologies are given of their name. The common account is, that they were originally the Achæan inhabitants of the town of Helos in Laconia, who, having been the last to submit to the Dorian invaders, and that only after a desperate struggle, were reduced by the victors to slavery.[2] Another account represents them as the general body of the ancient Achæan population of Laconia, reduced to slavery by the Dorians, like the Penestæ in Thessaly.[3] Müller explains εἵλωτες as meaning *prisoners* (from the root ἑλεῖν, *to take*), and supposes that the Helots were an aboriginal race, who were subdued at a very early period, and who naturally passed over as slaves to the Doric conquerors. This last, however, though now received by many scholars, appears the least satisfactory explanation of the three.

III. At the end of the second Messenian war (B.C. 668), the conquered Messenians were reduced to slavery, and included under the denomination of Helots. Their condition appears to have been the same, with some slight difference, as that of the other Helots. The policy of Epaminondas, however, after the battle of Leuctra, restored the main body of these Messenian Helots to their country, where they no doubt formed the chief part of the population of the new city of Messene.[4]

IV. The Helots were regarded as the property of the state, which, while it gave their services to individuals, reserved to itself the power of emancipating them.[5] They were attached to the land, and could not be sold away from it. Several families, as many perhaps as six or seven, resided on each κλῆρος, in dwellings of their own, either in detached farms or in villages. They cultivated the land, and paid to their masters as rent a fixed measure of corn, the exact amount of which had been fixed at a very early period, the raising of that amount being forbidden under heavy imprecations.[6] The annual rent paid for each κλῆρος was eighty-two medimni of

[1] *Liv.*, xxxiv., 27.
[2] *Paus.*, iii., 20, 6.
[3] *Athen.*, vi., p. 265, c.
[4] *Thirlwall, Hist. Gr.*, vol. v., p. 104, *seqq.*
[5] *Strab.*, vii., p. 365.
[6] *Plut., Inst. Lac.*, p. 255.

barley, and a proportionate quantity of oil and wine. The domestic servants of the Spartans were all Helots. They attended on their masters at the public meal; and many of them were no doubt employed by the state in public works.

V. In war, the Helots served as light-armed troops (*ψιλοί*), a certain number of them attending every heavy-armed Spartan to the field. They only served as Hoplites in particular emergencies; and on such occasions they were generally emancipated if they showed distinguished bravery. The first instance of this kind was in the expedition of Brasidas, B.C. 424.[1]

VI. The treatment to which the Helots were subjected, as described by the later Greek writers, was marked by the most wanton cruelty. Thus Myron states that "the Spartans impose upon them every ignominious service, for they compel them to wear a cap of dog's skin, and to be clothed with a garment of sheep's skin, and to have stripes inflicted upon them every year, for no fault, but in order that they may never forget that they are slaves. And besides all this, if any rise by their qualities above the condition of a slave, they appoint death as the penalty, and their masters are liable to punishment if they do not destroy the most excellent."[2] Plutarch also states that Helots were forced to intoxicate themselves, and perform indecent dances, as a warning to the Spartan youth.[3]

VII. Another institution, said to have been introduced by the legislation of Lycurgus,[4] and the object of which is thought by some to have been a kind of military training of the Spartan youth, but by others an interposing of a check to too great an increase of the servile population, was the *Crypteia* (*κρυπτεία*), or secret war. It is described by Plutarch as follows. The ephori, at intervals, selected from among the young Spartans those who appeared to be best qualified for the task, and sent them in various directions all over the country, provided with daggers and their necessary food. During the day-time these young men concealed themselves; but at night they broke forth into the high roads, and massacred those of the Helots whom they met, or whom they thought proper. Sometimes also they ranged over the fields in the daytime, and dispatched the strongest and best of the Helots. This account of Plutarch's

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[1] *Thucyd.*, iv., 80; v., 34; vii., 19. [2] *Athen.*, xiv., p. 657. [3] *Plut., Lyc.*, 28.

[4] *Aristot. ap Plut., Lyc.*, 28. Grote, however, thinks it hardly to be supposed that the Crypteia, or any other regulation hostile to the Helots, can have emanated from Lycurgus, but is of opinion that all such measures originated at a later day, when dangers began to threaten from the servile population. (*Hist. Gr.*, vol. ii., p. 502.

agrees with that of Heraclides of Pontus, who speaks of the practice as one that was still carried on in his own time.

VIII. As might be expected, very grave doubts have been entertained by modern writers respecting the truth of this statement, some regarding it as altogether untrue, others as highly colored and exaggerated. The truth probably lies between these two opinions;[1] and it is very probable that in a slaveholding state like Sparta, where the number of free citizens was comparatively very small, the ephori had the legal authority of *occasionally* sending out a number of young Spartans in chase of the Helots. That on certain occasions, when the state had reason to fear the overwhelming number of slaves, thousands were massacred with the sanction of the public authorities, is a well-known fact.[2] It is, however, probable enough that such a system may at first have been carried on with some degree of moderation; but after attempts had been made by the slaves to emancipate themselves, and put their masters to death, as was the case during and after the earthquake in Laconia, it assumed the barbarous and atrocious character which has just been described.[3]

IX. The Helots might be emancipated, but in that case, instead of passing into the class of Periœci, they formed a distinct body in the state, known at the time of the Peloponnesian war by the general name of *νεοδαμώδεις*. Being persons who had earned their freedom by signal bravery, they were of course regarded by the ephori with peculiar apprehension, and, if possible, employed on foreign service, or planted on some foreign soil as settlers.

Aug. 25. 1857.

CHAPTER V.

PARTITION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I. At an early period disputes arose between the people and the kingly authority, which had been originally divided between the two Heracleid families. These disputes led to the constitution said to have been introduced by Lycurgus.[4]

II. The Spartan constitution was of a mixed character. The monarchical principle was represented by the two kings; the aris-

[1] *Thirlwall, Hist. Gr.*, vol. i., p. 311. [2] *Thucyd.*, iv., 80.

[3] Compare *Plut., Lyc.*, 28, *sub fin.*

[4] Compare the remarks of Grote on the question whether the Spartan constitution originated with Lycurgus or not. (*Hist. Gr.*, vol. ii., p. 455, *seqq.*)

tocracy by the senate; and the democratic element by the assembly of the people. We shall consider each of these in order.

1. *The Kings.*

I. The kingly authority at Sparta was, as is well known, coeval with the settlement of the Dorians in the Peloponnesus, and confined to the descendants of Aristodemus, one of the Heracleid leaders, under whom, according to the Spartan legend, the conquest of Laconia was achieved. To him were born twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles; and from this cause arose the diarchy, or divided royalty, the sovereignty being always shared by the representatives of the two families which claimed descent from them.[1] The precedence in point of honor was, however, granted to the older branch, who were called Agidæ, as the younger house were styled Eurypontidæ, from certain alleged descendants of the twin brothers.[2]

II. Such was the national legend; but as we read that the sanction of the Pythian oracle was procured for the arrangement of the diarchy, we may conclude that it was not altogether fortuitous, but rather the work of policy and design; nor indeed is it improbable that the nobles would gladly avail themselves of an opportunity to weaken the royal authority by dividing it.

III. The descent of the Spartan kings from the national heroes and leaders contributed in no small degree to support their dignity and honor; and it is perhaps from this circumstance partly that they were considered as heroes, and enjoyed a certain religious respect.[3] Thus the kings united the character of priest and king, the priesthoods of Zeus (Jupiter) Uranius[4] and the Lacedæmonian Zeus being filled by them. In their capacity, moreover, of national high priests, they officiated at all the public sacrifices offered on behalf of the state.[5] Moreover, they were amply provided with the means for exercising the heroic virtue of hospitality; for this purpose, public or domain lands were assigned to them in the territory of the Periœci, and certain perquisites belonged to them whenever an animal was slain in sacrifice. Besides this, the kings were entitled to various payments in kind, that they might never be in want of victims to sacrifice; in addition to which, they received twice a month from the state an *ἱρήϊον τελεῖον*, to be offered as a sacrifice to Apollo, and then served up at the royal table. Whenever, also, any of the citizens made a public sacrifice to the gods, the kings were invited to the feast, and honored above the other guests; a double portion of

[1] *Herod.*, vi., 52. [2] *Niebuhr, Rom. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 356.
[3] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, c. 15. [4] *Herod.*, vi., 56. [5] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, c. 15.

food was given to them, and they commenced the libations to the gods.[1]

IV. All these distinctions are of so simple and antiquated a character as to prove clearly that the Spartan sovereignty was merely a continuation of the Heroic or Homeric. The distinctions and privileges granted to the king as commander of the forces in war, lead to the same conclusion. These were greater than he enjoyed at home. He was guarded by a body of three hundred chosen men, and his table was maintained at the public expense. He might sacrifice in his sacerdotal capacity as many victims as he chose, the skins and backs of which were his perquisites; and he was assisted by so many subordinate officers, that he had nothing else to do except to act as priest and strategus.[2]

V. In comparison with their dignity and honors, the constitutional powers of the kings were very limited. In fact, they can scarcely be said to have possessed any; for though they presided over the council of elders or senate, and though the king of the elder house probably had a casting vote, still the voice of each counted for no more than that of any other senator. When absent, their place was supplied and their proxies tendered by the counsellors who were most nearly related to them, and therefore of an Heracleid family.

VI. Still the kings had some important prerogatives. Thus they had, in common with the other magistrates, the right of addressing the public assembly; besides this, they sat in a separate court of their own, where they gave judgment in all cases of heiresses claimed by different parties; a function formerly exercised by the kings at Athens, but afterward transferred to the archon eponymus.[3] They also appointed the four *Pythians* (Πύθιοι), whose duty it was to go as messengers to consult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, the great national sanctuary of the Dorians. Adoptions also took place in their presence, and they held a court in all cases connected with the maintenance of the public roads; probably in their capacity of generals, and as superintendents of the intercourse with foreign nations.[4]

VII. In foreign affairs, indeed, their prerogatives were considerable; thus they were the commanders of the Spartan forces, and had the privilege of nominating, from among the citizens, persons to act as *proxeni*, or protectors and entertainers of foreigners visiting Sparta. But their chief power was in war; for, after they had once crossed the borders of Laconia in command of troops, their

[1] *Herod.*, vi., 57.
[2] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, 14, 15; *Herod.*, vi., 55.
[3] *Herod.*, vi., 57.
[4] *Müller, Dor.*, iii., 6, 7.

authority was unlimited. They could send out and assemble armies, dispatch ambassadors to collect money, and refer those who applied to themselves for justice to the proper officers appointed for that purpose.[1]

VIII. Two ephori, indeed, accompanied the kings on their expeditions, but those magistrates had no authority to interfere with the king's operations; they simply watched over the proceedings of the army.[2] Moreover, there can be no doubt that the kings were, on their return home, accountable for their conduct as generals, and more especially after the increase of the ephoral authority. Their military power, also, was not connected with any political functions, for the kings were not allowed to conclude treaties, or to decide the fate of cities, without communicating with the authorities at home.[3] In the more early times, the two kings had a joint command; this, however, led to inconveniences, and a law was in consequence passed, that for the future one only of the two kings should have the command of the army on foreign expeditions.

2. *Senate.*

I. The senate (*γερουσία*), or *council of elders*, was the aristocratical element of the Spartan policy, and not peculiar to Sparta only, but found in other Dorian states; just as a *βουλή*, or democratic council, was an element of most Ionian constitutions.

II. The *γερουσία* at Sparta included the two kings, its presidents, and consisted of thirty members; a number which seems connected with the divisions of the Spartan people. Every Dorian state, in fact, was divided, as we have already said, into three tribes. These tribes at Sparta were subdivided into *ὠβαί*, and these *obæ* were, like the *γέροντες*, thirty in number, so that each *oba* was represented by its counsellor.

III. No one was eligible to the senate till he was sixty years of age,[4] and the additional qualifications were strictly of an aristocratic nature. We are told, for instance, that the office of a senator was the reward and prize of virtue,[5] and that it was confined to men of distinguished character and station (*καλοὶ κἀγαθοί*).[6]

IV. The election was determined by vote, and the mode of conducting it was remarkable for its old-fashioned simplicity. The competitors presented themselves, one after another, to the assembly of electors;[7] the latter testified their esteem by acclamations,

[1] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, 13; *Thucyd.*, v., 60; viii., 5.
[2] *Xen., l. c.*
[3] *Xen., Hell.*, ii., 2, 12; v., 3, 24.
[4] *Plut., Lyc.*, 26.
[5] *Arist., Polit.*, ii., 6, 15.
[6] *Demosth. c. Lept.*, p. 489.
[7] *Plut., Lyc.*, 26.

which varied in intensity according to the popularity of the candidates for whom they were given. These manifestations of esteem were noted by persons in an adjoining building, who could judge of the shouting, but could not tell in whose favor it was given. The person whom these judges thought to have been most applauded was declared the successful candidate.

V. The office of senator was not only for life, but also irresponsible;[1] as if a previous reputation and the near approach of death were considered a sufficient guarantee for integrity and moderation. But the senators did not always prove so, for Aristotle tells us that the members of the γερουσία received bribes, and frequently showed partiality in their decisions.

VI. The functions of the senators were partly deliberative, partly judicial, and partly executive. In the discharge of the first they prepared measures, and passed preliminary decrees,[2] which were to be laid before the popular assembly, so that the important privilege of initiating all changes in the government or laws was vested in them. As a criminal court, they could punish with death and civil degradation,[3] and that, too, without being restrained by any code of written laws,[4] for which national feeling and recognized usages would form a sufficient substitute.

VII. They also appear to have exercised, like the Areopagus at Athens, a general superintendence and inspection over the lives and manners of the citizens,[5] and probably were allowed a kind of patriarchal authority to enforce the observance of ancient usage and discipline. It is not, however, easy to define with exactness the original extent of their functions, especially as respects the last-mentioned duty, since the ephori not only encroached upon the prerogatives of the king and senate, but also possessed, in very early times, a censorial power, and were not likely to permit any diminution of its extent.

3. *Assembly of Spartan Freemen.*

I. This assembly (ἐκκλησία) possessed, in theory at least, the supreme authority in all matters affecting the general interests of the state. Its original position at Sparta is shortly explained by a *rhetra*, or ordinance of Lycurgus, which, in the form of an oracle, exhibits the principal features in the Spartan polity: "Build a temple," says the Pythian god, "to Hellanian Jove and Hellanian Minerva; divide

[1] *Aristot., Polit.*, ii., 6.
[2] *Plut., Agis*, 11.
[3] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, 10, 2; *Arist., Polit.*, iii., 1.
[4] *Arist., Polit.*, ii., 6.
[5] *Aul. Gell.*, xviii., 3.

the tribes, and institute thirty obas; appoint a council with its princes; call an assembly between Babyca and Knakion, then make a motion and depart; and let there be a right of decision and power to the people."

II. By this ordinance full power was given to the people to adopt or reject whatever was proposed to them by the king and other magistrates. It was, however, found necessary to define this power more exactly, and the following clause, ascribed to the kings Theopompus and Polydorus, was added to the original rhetra: "but if the people should follow a crooked opinion, the elders and the princes shall withdraw." Plutarch[1] interprets these words to mean, "that in case the people do not either reject or approve in toto a measure proposed to them, the kings and counsellors should dissolve the assembly, and declare the proposed decree to be invalid." According to this interpretation, which is confirmed by some verses in the Eunomia of Tyrtæus, the assembly was not competent to originate any measures, but only to pass or reject, without modification, the laws and decrees proposed by the proper authorities; a limitation of power which almost determined the character of the Spartan constitution, and justifies the words of Demosthenes, that the γερουσία at Sparta was in many respects supreme.

III. All citizens above the age of thirty, who were not laboring under any loss of franchise, were admissible to the general assembly; but no one except public magistrates, and chiefly the ephori and kings, addressed the people without being specially called upon.[2] The same public functionaries also put the question to the vote.[3] Hence, as the magistrates only were the leaders and speakers of the assembly, decrees of the whole people are often spoken of as the decision of the authorities only, especially in matters relating to foreign affairs. The intimate connection of the ephori with the assembly is shown by a phrase of very frequent occurrence in decrees, namely, ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

IV. The method of voting was by acclamation; the place of meeting between the brook Knakion and the bridge Babyca, to the west of the city, and inclosed.[4] The regular assemblies were held every full moon; and on occasions of emergency, extraordinary meetings were convened.[5]

V. The whole people alone could proclaim a war, conclude a peace, enter into an armistice for any length of time; and all negotiations with foreign states, though conducted by the kings and ephori, could

[1] *Plut., Lyc.*, 6. [2] *Müller, Dor.*, iii., 4, 11. [3] *Thucyd.*, i., 80, 87.
[4] *Plut., Lyc.*, 6. [5] *Herod.*, vii., 134.

be ratified by the same authority only. With regard to domestic affairs, the highest offices, such as magistracies and priesthoods, were filled by the votes of the people; a disputed succession to the throne was decided upon by them; changes in the constitution were proposed and explained before them, and all new laws, after a previous decree in the senate, were confirmed by them.[1]

VI. It appears, therefore, that the popular assembly really possessed the supreme political and legislative authority at Sparta; but it was so hampered and checked by the spirit of the constitution that it could only exert its authority within certain prescribed limits; so that the government of the state is often spoken of as an aristocracy.

VII. Besides the ἐκκλησία, which we have just described, we read in later times of another called the small assembly,[2] which appears to have been convened on occasions of emergency, or which were not of sufficient importance to require the decision of the entire body of citizens. This more select assembly was probably composed of the superior citizens, or of some class enjoying a similar precedence, together with some of the magistrates of the state; and if, as appears to have been the case, it was convened more frequently than the greater assembly, it is evident that an additional restraint was thus laid upon the power of the latter, the functions of which must have been often superseded by it.[3]

Aug. 26. 1852.

CHAPTER VI.

MAGISTRATES—PUBLIC OFFICERS.

1. *Ephori.*

I. Magistrates called *Ephori* (Ἔφοροι), or "overseers," were common to many Dorian constitutions in times of remote antiquity. The statement, therefore, of Herodotus, that they were instituted by Lycurgus,[4] as well as another account, that the Spartan ephoralty was established by Theopompus,[5] are now both deservedly rejected.

II. The number of ephori was five. It appears to have been always the same, and was probably connected with the five divisions of the town of Sparta. They were elected from and by the people, without any qualification of age or property, and without undergoing any scrutiny; so that, as Aristotle remarks,[6] the δῆμος enjoyed through them a participation in the highest magistracy of the state.

[1] *Müller, Dor.*, iii., 4, 9. [2] *Xen., Hell.*, iii., 3, 18. [3] *Philol. Museum*, vol. ii., p. 65.
[4] *Herod.*, i., 65. [5] *Arist., Polit.*, v., 9. [6] *Polit.*, ii., 7.

The precise mode of their election is not known, but Aristotle speaks of it as being very puerile. They entered upon office at the summer solstice, and the first in rank of the five gave his name to the year, which was called after him in all civil transactions.[1] Their meetings were held in the public building called *ἀρχεῖον*, which in some respects resembled the Prytaneum at Athens, as being the place where foreigners and ambassadors were entertained, and where, moreover, the ephori took their meals together.[2]

III. The ephori also possessed judicial authority; on which subject Aristotle remarks[3] that they decided in civil suits, and generally in actions of great importance, whereas the council or senate presided over capital crimes. In this arrangement we see an exemplification of a practice common to many of the ancient Greek states, according to which a criminal jurisdiction was given to courts of aristocratic composition, while civil actions were decided by popular tribunals.

IV. But with this civil jurisdiction was united a censorial authority; for example, the ephori punished a man for having brought money into the state,[4] and others for indolence.[5] We are told also that they inspected the clothing and the bedding of the young men.[6] Moreover, something like a superintendence over the laws and their execution is implied in the language of the edict, which they published on entering upon their office, ordering the citizens to shave the upper lip (*κείρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα*) and obey the laws.

V. Their jurisdiction and power were still further increased by the privilege of instituting scrutinies (*εὔθυναι*) into the conduct of all the magistrates. Nor were they obliged to wait till a magistrate had completed his term of office, since, even before its termination, they might exercise the privilege of deposition.[7] Even the kings themselves could be brought before their tribunal (as Cleomenes was for bribery),[8] though they were not obliged to answer a summons to appear there till it had been repeated three times.[9] In extreme cases, the ephori were also competent to lay an accusation against the kings as well as the other magistrates, and bring them to a capital trial before the great court of justice.[10] If they sat as judges themselves, they were only able to impose a fine, and compel immediate payment; but they were not in any case, great as was their judicial authority, bound by a written code of laws.[11]

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1 *Müller, Dor.*, iii., 7, 7.
2 *Pausan.*, iii., 11, 2.
3 *Polit.*, iii., 1.
4 *Plut., Lysand.*, 19.
5 *Schol. ad Thucyd.*, i., 84.
6 *Athen.*, xii., p. 550.
7 *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, viii., 4.
8 *Herod.*, vii., 82.
9 *Plut., Cleom.*, 10.
10 *Xen., l. c.; Herod.*, vi., 85.
11 *Arist., Polit.*, ii., 6.

VI. In later times the power of the ephori was greatly increased; and this increase appears to have been principally owing to the fact that they put themselves in connection with the assembly of the people, convened its meetings, laid measures before it, and were constituted its agents and representatives. When this connection arose is matter of conjecture. That it was not known in early times appears from the circumstance that the two ordinances of the oracle at Delphi, which regulated the assembly of the people, made no mention of the functions of the ephori. It is clear, however, that the power which such a connection gave, would, more than any thing else, enable them to encroach on the royal authority.

VII. Accordingly, we find that they transacted business with foreign ambassadors;[1] dismissed them from the state;[2] decided upon the government of dependent cities;[3] subscribed, in the presence of other persons, to treaties of peace;[4] and in time of war sent out troops whenever they thought it necessary.[5] In all these capacities the ephori acted as the representatives of the nation and the agents of the public assembly, being, in fact, the executive of the state. Their authority in this respect is further illustrated by the fact that, after a declaration of war, they intrusted the army to the king or to some other general, who received from them instructions how to act; sent back to them for fresh instructions; were restrained by them through the attendance of extraordinary plenipotentiaries; were recalled by means of the scytale, summoned before a judicial tribunal, and their first duty after their return was to visit the office of the ephori.[6]

VIII. It has been said that the ephori encroached upon the royal authority; in course of time, the kings became completely under their control. For example, they fined Agesilaus[7] on the vague charge of trying to make himself popular, and interfered even with the domestic arrangements of other kings. Moreover, as we are told by Thucydides,[8] they could even imprison the kings. We know also that in the field the kings were followed by two ephori, who belonged to the council of war; the three who remained at home received the booty in charge, and paid it into the treasury, which was under the superintendence of the whole College of Five.

IX. But the ephori had still another prerogative, based on a religious foundation, which enabled them to effect a temporary deposition of the kings. Once in eight years, as we are told, they chose

1 *Herod.*, ix., 8.
2 *Xen., Hell.*, ii., 13, 19.
3 *Id.*, iii., 4, 2.
4 *Thucyd.*, v., 19.
5 *Herod.*, ix., 7.
6 *Müller, Dor.*, vol. ii., p. 127.
7 *Plut., Ages.*, 2, 5.
8 *Thucyd.*, i., 131.

a calm and cloudless night to observe the heavens, and if there was any appearance of a falling meteor, it was believed to be a sign that the gods were displeased with the kings, who were accordingly suspended from their functions until an oracle allowed their restoration.[1]

X. The outward symbols of supreme authority also were assumed by the ephori, and they alone kept their seats while the kings passed; whereas it was not considered beneath the dignity of the kings to rise in honor of the ephori.[2]

XI. The position which the ephori occupied at Sparta clearly proves that the ephoralty was the moving element, the principle of change in the Spartan constitution, and in the end the cause of its dissolution. In confirmation of this, we may cite the authority of Aristotle, who observes, that from the excessive and absolute power of the ephori, the kings were obliged to court them, and eventually the government became a democracy instead of an aristocracy.

XII. The ephori communicated with their kings and generals abroad[3] by a secret mode of writing, by means of what was termed the *scytăle* (*σκυτάλη*). When a king or general left Sparta, the ephori gave him a staff of a definite length and thickness, and retained for themselves another of precisely the same size. When they had any communication to make to him, they cut the material upon which they intended to write in the shape of a narrow ribbon, wound it round their staff, and then wrote upon it the message which they had to send to him. When the strip of writing material was taken from the staff, nothing but single or broken letters appeared, and in this state the strip was sent to the general, who, after having wound it around his staff, was able to read the communication. This rude and imperfect mode of sending a secret message must have come down from early times, although no instance of it is recorded previous to the time of Pausanias.[4] In later times the Spartans used the scytale occasionally also as a medium through which they sent their commands to subject and allied towns.[5]

2. *Other Public Officers.*

I. We read of other officers, each of whom seems to have exercised a certain jurisdiction in his own department. The *Παιδονόμος*, for instance, superintended the discipline of the boys and young men, and punished severely all who had been negligent or idle, for which purpose *μαστιγοφόροι* were assigned him by Lycurgus. Those

1 *Plut., Agis*, 11.
2 *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, 15.
3 *Plut., Lysand.*, 19; *Schol. ad Thucyd.*, i., 131.
4 *Corn. Nep., Paus.*, 3.
5 *Xen., Hell.*, v., 2, 37.

who were refractory he might bring before the ephori. He was assisted by subordinates termed *βιδιαῖοι*, to whom belonged the more immediate inspection of gymnastic exercises, and who were probably five in number. The office of *παιδονόμος* was considered very honorable, and he was always chosen from among the noblest citizens.[1]

II. The *Νομοφύλακες* were the guardians of the laws. Their business was to see that the laws were duly administered and obeyed. The *Ἁρμόσυνοι* watched over the conduct of the women. The *Ἐμπόλωροι* were inspectors of the market.

III. The *Ἱππαγρέται* were three in number, and were appointed by the ephori from among those who had attained the age of manhood. These officers chose three hundred, the flower of the *ἔφηβοι*, to serve as a body-guard for the kings under the name of *ἱππεῖς*, but who were not, or else had ceased to be, horsemen. Each of the hippagretæ selected one hundred, giving his reasons for choosing some and rejecting others.

IV. The *Πολέμαρχοι* appear to have ranked next to the king when on actual service abroad, and were generally of the royal kindred or house.[2] They commanded single *morœ*,[3] or divisions of the army, so that they would appear to have been six in number,[4] the *morœ* being usually six. Sometimes they commanded whole armies.[5] They also formed part of the king's council in war. The Spartan polemarchs had likewise the superintendence of the public tables. But, in addition to their military functions and the duties connected therewith, they had a civil as well as a certain extent of judicial power, in which respect they resembled the *ἄρχων πολέμαρχος* at Athens.[6]

V. The *Ἁρμοσταί* were the governors whom the Lacedæmonians, after the Peloponnesian war, sent into their subject or conquered towns, partly to keep them in submission, and partly to abolish the democratic form of government, and establish in its stead one similar to their own.[7] Although in many cases they were ostensibly sent for the purpose of abolishing the tyrannical government of a town and to restore the people to freedom, yet they themselves acted like kings or tyrants, whence Dionysius[8] thinks that *harmostæ* was merely another name for kings. It is uncertain how long the office of an *harmostes* lasted; but, considering that a governor of the

[1] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, ii., 2; iii., 10; *Plut., Lyc.*, 17. [2] *Herod.*, vii., 173.
[3] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, xi., 4. [4] *Müller, Dor.*, iii., 12, 4. [5] *Herod., l. c.*
[6] *Müller, Dor.*, iii., 7, 8. [7] *Diod. Sic.*, xiv., 10; *Xen., Hell.*, iv., 2, 5.
[8] *Ant. Rom.*, v., p. 337, *Sylburg.*

same kind, who was appointed by the Lacedæmonians in Cythera, with the title of *Cytherodices*, held his office for only one year,[1] it is not improbable that the office of *harmostes* was of the same duration.

CHAPTER VII.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

1. *Judicial Authority.*

I. The administration of the Spartan laws was founded on custom and precedent. The judicial authority, as already intimated, was in the hands of the senate and the magistracy, to the entire exclusion of the popular assembly. Capital offences were judged by the senate; private disputes, and accusations involving a fine merely, were determined by the ephori.

II. To the kings belonged the right of deciding questions concerning succession, the marriage of heiresses, adoption, and the distribution among the citizens of the expenses incurred in the making and improving of the public streets. Offences committed by the kings themselves, and requiring a capital trial, were judged by the senate on the accusation of the ephori. There were also several other magistrates, each invested with judicial authority in his own department.

2. *Punishments.*

I. The punishments were fines (considerable only in the case of kings, generals, or harmostæ), curtailment of civil rights (*ἀτιμία*), and death.

II. The offences which were punished at Sparta with *atimia* are not very fully known; and in many cases it does not seem to have been expressly mentioned by the law, but to have depended entirely upon public opinion, whether a person was to be considered and treated as an *atimos* or not. In general, it appears that every one who refused to live according to the national institutions lost the rights of a full citizen.[2] It was, however, a positive law, that whoever did not give or could not give his contribution toward the syssitia, lost such rights.[3]

III. The highest degree of infamy, however, fell upon the coward (*ὁ τρέσας*) who either ran away from the field of battle, or returned home without the rest of the army, as Aristodemus did after the

[1] *Thucyd.*, iv., 53.
[2] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, x., 7; iii., 3.
[3] *Arist., Polit.*, ii., 6.

battle of Thermopylæ;[1] though in this case the infamy itself, as well as its humiliating consequences, were manifestly the mere effect of public opinion, and lasted until the person laboring under it distinguished himself by some signal exploit, and thus wiped off the stain from his name.

IV. The Spartans, who, in Sphacteria, had surrendered to the Athenians, were punished with a kind of *atimia* which deprived them of their claims to public offices (a punishment common to all kinds of *atimia*), and rendered them incapable of making any lawful purchase or sale. Afterward, however, they recovered their rights.[2]

V. Unmarried men were also subject to a certain degree of *atimia*, in so far as they were deprived of the customary honors of old age, were excluded from taking part in the celebration of certain festivals, and were occasionally compelled to sing defamatory songs against themselves.

VI. No *atimos* was allowed to marry the daughter of a Spartan citizen, and was thus compelled to endure the ignominies of celibacy.[3] Although an *atimos* at Sparta was subject to a great many painful restrictions, yet his condition can not be called outlawry; it was rather a state of infamy, properly so called. Even the *atimia* of a coward can not be considered equal to the civil death of an Athenian *atimos*, for we find him still acting to some extent as a citizen, though always in a manner which made his infamy manifest to every one who beheld him.

VII. The capital punishments were strangulation, and hurling offenders into a pit or chasm called *cæadas* (καιάδας), into which sometimes merely their dead bodies were thrown. This place was at first only a huge natural fissure, such as are frequent in the Peloponnesus, but was subsequently converted into a kind of subterranean prison.

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CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGION.

1. *Deities of the Spartans.*

I. Among the Hellenic deities, the most highly honored at Sparta were Apollo, the national divinity of the Dorians, and his sister Diana or Artemis (Ἄρταμις). Adoration was also paid to Jupiter (Ζεύς), Juno (Ἥρα), Minerva (Ἀθάνα, Ἀσάνα), Neptune (Ποσειδᾶν,

[1] *Herod.*, vii., 231. [2] *Thucyd.*, v., 34.
[3] *Plut., Agesil.*, 30; *Müller, Dor.*, iv., 4, 3.

Ποτειδᾶν), Ceres (Δαμάτηρ), Venus (Ἀφροδίτα), Bacchus, Mars (Ἄρης), the Muses (Μῶσαι, Μῶαι), and Eros.

II. The kings were priests of the Lacedæmonian and heavenly Jove. As Dorians, the Spartans especially honored the Delphic oracle of Apollo, which they consulted on all public occasions. Their heroes were Hercules, Hyacinthus, Castor and Pollux, Menelaus, and Lycurgus.

III. In proof of the assertion that the principal deities of the Dorians were Apollo and Diana, it may be remarked, that their worship is found to have predominated in all the settlements of that race; and conversely, the Doric origin can be either proximately or remotely traced wherever there were any considerable institutions dedicated to the worship of Apollo, in so much that the adoration of this god may be shown from the most ancient testimonies of mythology to have gradually advanced with the extension of the Doric nation.[1]

IV. The Doric migration gave rise to many others, which spread in various directions the worship of Apollo; no longer, however, as a peculiar deity of the Dorians, but in a more extended sense as the national god of the Greeks. This was chiefly occasioned by the influence of Delphi, which seems to have given the chief stimulus to that great migration. In fact, it became from this time invested with a power which hardly belonged to any subsequent institution. Apollo is represented as governing nations with an arbitrary power, compelling them, however unwilling, to undertake distant expeditions, and pointing out the settlements which they were to occupy.[2]

V. In all the chief temples of Apollo, Diana was worshipped as his sister, as the partner of his nature and his actions, and, as it were, a part of the same deity. Among the Spartans she was worshipped under the peculiar title of Diana Orthia (Ἀρταμις Ὀρθία), and had a temple called Limnæon, from its situation in a marshy part of the town.[3] At her festival took place the solemnity termed *Diamastigōsis*, on which occasion Spartan youths (ἔφηβοι) were scourged at her altar by persons appointed for the purpose, until their blood gushed forth and covered the very altar itself. The scourging itself was preceded by a preparation or training, by which those who intended to undergo the diamastigosis tried to harden themselves against its pains. From one of the accounts that are given of the origin of this solemnity, it would appear to have been a substitute for human sacrifices; and Lycurgus made it also serve his purposes

[1] *Müller, Dor.*, ii., 1, 1. [2] *Id.*, ii., 3, 3. [3] *Paus.*, iii., 16, 6.

of education, in so far as he made it a part of the system of hardening the Spartan youths against bodily sufferings.[1]

2. *National Festivals.*

The most remarkable of these were, 1. The Ὑακίνθια. 2. The Γυμνοπαιδία. 3. The Κάρνεια, which we will now consider in order.

Ὑακίνθια.

I. The Ὑακίνθια, *Hyacinthia*, was celebrated every year at Amyclæ by the Amyclæans and Spartans. It was called after the youthful hero Hyacinthus, whom Apollo accidentally struck dead with a quoit, and was held in honor of the Amyclæan Apollo and Hyacinthus together. The Hyacinthia lasted for three days, and began on the longest day of the Spartan month Hecatombeus (the Attic Hecatombæon, answering to the last half of our July and the first half of August), at the time when the tender flowers, oppressed by the heat of the sun, drooped their languid heads. The hero Hyacinthus, therefore, evidently derived his name from the flower hyacinth, the emblem of death among the ancient Greeks.

II. On the first and last day of the hyacinthia, sacrifices were offered to the dead, and the death of Hyacinthus was lamented. During these two days nobody wore any garlands at the repasts, nor took bread, but only cakes and similar things, and no pæans were sung in praise of Apollo; and when the solemn repasts were over, every body went home in the greatest quiet and order. This serious and melancholy character was foreign to all the other festivals of Apollo.

III. The second day, however, was wholly spent in public rejoicings and amusements. Amyclæ was visited by numbers of strangers, and boys played the cithara or sang to the accompaniment of the flute, and celebrated in anapæstic metres the praises of Apollo, while others, in splendid attire, performed a horse-race in the theatre. After this race there followed a number of choruses of youths conducted by a χοροποιός,[2] in which some of their national songs were sung. During the songs of these choruses, dancers performed some of the ancient and simple movements with the accompaniment of the flute and the song. The Spartan and Amyclæan maidens, after this, riding in chariots made of wicker-work, and splendidly adorned, made a beautiful procession. Numerous sacrifices were also offered on this day, and the citizens kept open house for their friends and relations; and even slaves

[1] *Plut., Lyc.*, 18; *Cic., Tusc.*, v., 27. [2] *Xen., Agesil.*, 2, 17.

were allowed to enjoy themselves. One of the favorite meals on this occasion was called κοπίς, and is described as consisting of cake, bread, meat, raw herbs, broth, figs, and the seeds of lupine.[1]

IV. The great importance attached to this festival by the Amyclæans and Lacedæmonians is seen from the fact that the Amyclæans, even when they had taken the field against an enemy, always returned home on the approach of the season of the Hyacinthia, that they might not be obliged to neglect its celebration;[2] and that the Lacedæmonians, on one occasion, concluded a truce of forty days with the town of Eira merely to be able to return home and celebrate the national festival;[3] and also that in a treaty with Sparta, B.C. 421, the Athenians, in order to show their good will toward Sparta, promised every year to attend the celebration of the Hyacinthia.[4]

Γυμνοπαιδία.

I. The Γυμνοπαιδία, *Gymnopædia*, or festival of "naked youths," was celebrated at Sparta every year in honor of Apollo Pythæus, Diana, and Latona (Λατώ). The statues of these deities stood in a part of the agora called Χορός, and it was around these statues that, at the Gymnopædia, Spartan youths performed their choruses and dances in honor of Apollo.[5] The festival lasted for several, perhaps for ten days, and on the last day men also performed choruses and dances in the theatre.

II. The boys, in their movements, performed such rhythmical evolutions as resembled the exercises of the palæstra and the pancratium, and also imitated the wild gestures of the worship of Bacchus.[6] The introduction of the Gymnopædia, which subsequently became of such importance as an institution for gymnastic and orchestic performances, and for the cultivation of the poetic and musical arts at Sparta, is generally assigned to the year 665 B.C.

Καρνεῖα.

I. The Καρνεῖα, *Carneia*, was a great national festival, celebrated by the Spartans in honor of Apollo Carneius. It was, as far as we know, a warlike festival, similar to the Attic Boëdromia. During the time of its celebration nine tents were pitched near the city, in each of which nine men lived in the manner of a military camp, obeying in every thing the commands of a herald. The festival began on the seventh day of the month *Carneios* (answering to the

[1] *Molpis ap. Athen.*, iv., p. 140. [2] *Xen., Hellen.*, iv., 5, 11. [3] *Paus.*, iv., 19, 3.
[4] *Thucyd.*, v., 23. [5] *Paus.*, iii., 11, 7 [6] *Athen.*, xiv., p. 631.

Attic Metageitnion), or the latter half of August and the first half of September, and it lasted for nine days.

II. There were musical contests also in addition to the martial solemnities of the festival. Terpander was the first who gained the prize in these, and the musicians of his school were long distinguished competitors for the prize at this festival.[1]

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CHAPTER IX.

MILITARY AFFAIRS.

1. *The Army.*

I. In all the states of Greece, in the earliest as in later times, the general type of their military organization was the *phalanx*, a body of troops in close array, with a long spear as their principal weapon. It was among the Dorians, and especially among the Spartans, that this type was most rigidly adhered to. The strength of their military array consisted in the heavy-armed infantry (ὁπλῖται). They attached comparatively small importance to their cavalry, which was always inferior.[2] Indeed, the Thessalians and Bœotians were the only Greek people who distinguished themselves much for their cavalry; scarcely any other states had territories adapted for the evolutions of horse.

II. The Spartan army, as described by Xenophon, was probably, in all its main features, the same that it was in the time of Lycurgus. The whole life of a Spartan was little else than either the preparation for or the practice of war. The result was, that in the strictness of their discipline, the precision and facility with which they performed their military evolutions, and the skill and power with which they used their weapons, the Spartans were unrivalled among the Greeks, so that they seemed like real masters of the art of war, while, in comparison with them, other Greeks appeared mere tiros.[3]

III. The heavy-armed infantry of the Spartan armies was composed partly of genuine Spartans, partly of Periœci.[4] In later times, as the number of Spartan citizens decreased, the Periœci constituted the larger portion, a fact which renders nugatory all attempts to connect the numbers of the divisions of the army with the political divisions of the Spartan citizens.

IV. Every Spartan citizen was liable to military service from the

[1] *Müller, Dor.*, iv., 6, 3.
[2] *Xen., Hell.*, vi., 4, 10.
[3] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, xiii., 6.
[4] *Thucyd.*, iv., 8; *Grote, Hist. Gr.*, vol. ii., p. 493.

age of twenty to that of sixty years. Those beyond sixty were, however, sometimes employed in the less arduous kinds of service, as at Mantinea, where they had charge of the baggage.[1] On the occasion of any military expedition, the kings at first, and afterward the ephori, made proclamation what class, according to age, were to go on the expedition, as, for example, all citizens between twenty and thirty, or between twenty and thirty-five, &c. When in the field, the troops were drawn up in some manner according to their ages, so that for any special service those of a particular age might be separated and employed.[2] On one occasion (B.C. 418), on a sudden emergency, when probably there was not time to collect the Periœci, all the citizens of the military age were called forth.[3]

V. It appears from Xenophon[4] that the whole body of citizens of military age were divided into six divisions, called *μόραι*, under the command or superintendence of a polemarch, each *μόρα* being subdivided into four *λόχοι* (commanded by *λοχαγοί*), each *λόχος* into two *πεντηκοστύες* (headed by *πεντηκοστῆρες*), each *πεντηκοστύς* into two *ἐνωμοτίαι* (headed by enomotarchs). The *ἐνωμοτίαι* were so called from the men composing them being bound together by a common oath. These were not merely divisions of troops engaged in actual military expeditions. The whole body of citizens at all times formed an army, whether they were congregated at head-quarters in Sparta, or a portion of them were detached on foreign service.

VI. When a portion of the citizens was sent out on foreign service, the army that they formed was arranged in divisions corresponding to, and bearing the same names as, the divisions of the entire military force of Sparta, that is, of the entire body of citizens of military age.

VII. All the accounts that we have of Spartan military operations indicate that the Periœci who served as heavy-armed soldiers formed integral members of the different divisions to which they were attached; so that an enomotia, pentecostys, &c., in the field, would contain a number of soldiers who did not belong to the corresponding larger divisions of the whole body of citizens of military age.

VIII. The strength of a mora on actual service varied according to circumstances. To judge by the name pentecostys, the normal number of a mora would have been four hundred; but we find five hundred, six hundred, and nine hundred mentioned as the number of men in a mora on different occasions.[5] When in the field, each mora of infantry was attended by a mora of cavalry, consisting at

[1] *Thucyd.*, v., 72. [2] *Xen.*, *Hell.*, iv., 4, 16. [3] *Thucyd.*, v., 64.
[4] *Xen.*, *de Rep. Lac.*, xi. [5] *Plut.*, *Pelop.*, 16; *Xen.*, *Hell.*, iv., 5, 11.

the most of one hundred men, and commanded by an ἱππαρμοστής. The cavalry, however, seem merely to have been employed to protect the flanks, and but little regard was paid to it. The corps of three hundred ἱππεῖς[1] formed a sort of body-guard for the king, and consisted of the flower of the young soldiers. Though called horsemen, they fought on foot.[2]

IX. It seems a probable opinion that the number of moræ in the Spartan military force had reference to the districts into which Laconia was divided. These, including Sparta, and the districts immediately around it, were six in number. Perhaps, as Thirlwall suggests, the division of the army may have been founded on the fiction that one mora was assigned for the protection of each district.

X. A Spartan army, divided as above described, was drawn up in the dense array of the phalanx, the depth of which depended upon circumstances. The commander-in-chief, who was usually the king, had his station sometimes in the centre, but more commonly on the right wing. In later times, the king was usually accompanied by two ephori, as controllers and advisers. These, with the polemarchs, the four Pythii, three ὁμοιοι, and some others, constituted what was termed the *damosia* of the king.[3] The polemarchs also had some kind of suite or staff with them, called συμφορεῖς.[4]

XI. The Spartan and Periœcian hoplites were accompanied in the field by helots, partly in the capacity of attendants, and partly to serve as light-armed troops. The number attached to an army was probably not uniform. At Platææ each Spartan was accompanied by seven helots; but that was probably an extraordinary case. One helot, in particular, of those attached to each Spartan, was called his θεράπων, and performed the functions of a shield-bearer.[5] Xenophon calls them ὑπασπισταί. In extraordinary cases, helots served as hoplites, and in that case it was usual to give them their freedom. Distinct corps were sometimes composed entirely of these *Neodamodes*.

XII. A separate troop in the Lacedæmonian army was formed by the *Sciritæ* (Σκιρῖται), originally, no doubt, inhabitants of the district *Sciritis*. In battle, they occupied the extreme left of the line. On a march, they formed the vanguard, and were usually employed on the most dangerous kinds of service.

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[1] *Herod.*, viii., 124.
[2] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, iv., 3.
[3] *Id.*, xiii., 1, 7; xv., 14,
[4] *Plut., Pelop.*, 17; *Xen., Hell.*, vi., 4, 14.
[5] *Eustath. ad Dionys. Per.*, 533.

2. *Arms—Encampments—Battles, &c.*

I. The arms of the phalanx consisted of the long spear and a short sword (*ξυήλη*). The chief part of the defensive armor was the large brazen shield (*ἀσπὶς χαλκῆ*), which covered the body from the shoulder to the knee,[1] suspended, as in ancient times, by a thong around the neck, and managed by a simple handle (*πόρπαξ*). The improved Carian handle (*ὀχάνη*), already alluded to in the Homeric antiquities (page 48), was not introduced until the time of Cleomenes III. Besides this, they had the ordinary armor of the hoplite, of which we have already spoken (page 39, *seqq.*). The heavy-armed soldiers wore a scarlet uniform or cloak (*φοινῖκὶς στολή*).[2]

II. The Spartan encampments were circular. Only the heavy-armed men were stationed within them, the cavalry being placed to look out, and the helots being kept as much as possible outside. As another precaution against the latter, every soldier was obliged always to carry his spear about with him. Though strict discipline was of course kept up in the camp, it was less rigorous than in the city itself.[3] Preparatory to a battle, the Spartan soldier dressed his hair, and crowned himself as others would do for a feast.

III. The signal for attack in more ancient times was given by priests of Mars (Ares), who threw lighted torches into the interval between the two armies.[4] Afterward it was given, not by the trumpet, but by the music of flutes, and sometimes also of the lyre and cithara, to which the men sang the battle song (*παιὰν ἐμβατήριος*).[5] The object of the music was not so much to inspirit the men, as simply to regulate the march of the phalanx.[6] This rhythmical regularity of movement was a point to which the Spartans attached great importance. A sacrifice was offered to the Muses before the battle, as also to Eros.[7] To prevent the ranks being broken, the soldiers were forbidden to stop in order to strip a slain enemy while the fight lasted, or to pursue a routed enemy. The younger hoplites, or the cavalry, or light-armed troops, were dispatched for this purpose.[8] All the booty collected had to be handed over to the *laphyropolæ* and ephori, by whom it was sold.

IV. The rigid inflexibility of the Spartan tactics rendered them indisposed to the attack of fortified places. At the battle of Platææ they even assigned to the Athenians the task of storming the palisade formed by the *γέρρα* of the Persians.

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[1] *Tyrtæus, fr.*, ii., 23.
[2] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, xi., 3; *Ages.*, ii., 7.
[3] *Plut., Lyc.*, 22. Compare *Herod.*, vii., 208.
[4] *Schol. ad Eurip., Phœn.*, 1186.
[5] *Paus.*, iii., 17, 5; *Plut., l. c.*
[6] *Thucyd.*, v., 70.
[7] *Plut., Aristid.*, 17.
[8] *Xen., Hell.*, iv., 4, 16; v., 14, 16.

3. *Naval Affairs.*

I. An extended account of naval antiquities belongs more naturally to the subject of the Athenian marine. What we state here, therefore, will be necessarily brief. We gather from Herodotus that the naval force of the Spartans during the Persian war was very insignificant, and that it was simply to its high reputation that the state was indebted for the hegemony by sea, which, however, it was soon compelled to resign.

II. It was not until the Peloponnesian war that Sparta figured as a naval power. Helots were often employed to man the fleet. It was usual to give their naval engagements, as far as possible, the character of battles on shore, by boarding the enemy's ships and fighting on their decks.

CHAPTER X.

DOMESTIC AND PUBLIC ECONOMY.

I. Of the domestic economy of Lacedæmon we have little knowledge, although Aristotle, or rather Theophrastus (who is now known to have been the author of the first book of the Economics), gives it a separate place in treating of this subject.

II. Every master of a family, if he received his share of the produce of the soil, laid by a portion sufficient for the year's consumption, and sold the rest in the market of Sparta ;[1] the exchange being probably effected by barter, and not by the intervention of money. It should be observed, that the system of keeping the fruits in store had something peculiar, and the regularity was celebrated by which every thing could be easily found and made use of.[2]

III. We are also informed that the Spartans had granaries (ταμιεῖα) upon their estates, which, according to ancient custom, they kept under seal. It was, however, permitted to any poor person, who, for example, had remained too long in the chase, to open the granary, take out what he wanted, and then put his own seal, his iron ring, upon the door.

IV. In the market of Sparta money was employed more frequently as a medium of comparison than of exchange ; small coins were chiefly used, and no value was attributed to the possession of large quantities.[3] This usage Lycurgus had established by permitting only the use of iron coin, which had been made useless for common

[1] *Polyb.*, vi., 49. [2] *Müller, Dor.*, iii., 10, 8. [3] *Plut., Lyc.*, 9 ; *Lysand.*, 17

purposes by cooling in vinegar, or by some other process.[1] The chief iron coin was called from its shape, and perhaps also from its size, πέλανορ, "the cake used in sacrifices;" its value was equal to a half obolus, or the twelfth of a drachma.[2]

V. That the possession of gold and silver money was expressly interdicted to the citizens of Sparta is abundantly proved by the prohibition renewed at the time of Lysander by Sciraphidas or Phlogidas;[3] and how strong was the hold of this ancient custom is seen from the punishment of death, which was threatened to those who secretly transgressed it. This decree, however, expressly permitted to the state the possession of gold and silver. Without the possession of a coin of general currency, Sparta would have been unable to send ambassadors to foreign states, to maintain troops in another country, or to take foreign, *e. g.* Cretan, mercenaries into pay.

VI. In Sparta, therefore, the state was sole possessor of the precious metals, at least in the shape of coin (though it did not coin any money of its own before the time of Alexander), which it used in the intercourse with foreign nations. The individual citizens, however, who were without the pale of this intercourse, only required and possessed iron coin, in a manner precisely similar to that proposed by Plato in the Laws, namely, that the money generally current should be at the disposal of the state, and should be given out by the magistrates for the purposes of war and foreign travel, and that within the country should be circulated a coinage in itself worthless, which derived its value from public ordinance.

VII. It is evident, however, that whatever commerce was carried on by Laconia could not have existed without a coinage of universal currency; and as it is impossible that this trade could have been carried on by the state, since it would have required a proportionate number of public officers, it consequently was in the hands of the Periœci. We must therefore suppose that the possession of silver coin was allowed to this class of persons, as, in general, the Spartan customs did not, without exception, extend to the Periœci. Nor could this have had much influence upon the Spartans, since they had not any personal connection with the Periœci, the latter being only tributary to the state.

VIII. In the market of Sparta, in which the Spartans and Helots sold their corn, and the products of native industry were exposed, all foreigners being entirely excluded, doubtless none but the iron coin was used; and so, also, in the whole of Laconia, it was current at its fixed value; but those Lacedæmonians who were not of Doric

[1] *Plut., Lys.*, 17; *Polluz*, vii., 105. [2] *Hesych., s. v.* πέλανορ. [3] *Plut., Lys.*, 17.

origin must have possessed a currency of their own, probably under certain restrictions. And the tributes of these persons were doubtless the chief source from which the state derived its silver and gold coins. Besides this, the kings must also have been privileged to possess silver and gold. If some permission of this kind had not existed, Pausanias (who, however, was in strictness only guardian of the king) would not have been able to receive among other spoils ten talents from the plunder at Platææ ;[1] and Pleistonax and Agis the First could not have been fined in the sums of fifteen talents and one hundred thousand drachmæ.[2] At a later time, also, Agis the Third was possessed of six hundred talents.

IX. No regular taxation of the citizens of Sparta existed under any shape or name.[3] Extraordinary contributions and taxes were, however, raised for the purposes of war, which, on account of their unusual and irregular occurrence, were collected with difficulty.[4] There was no public treasure at Sparta up to the time of the Peloponnesian war: the revenue and expenditures were therefore nearly equal; and the Spartans were honest enough to require from the allies only the sums which were necessary.[5]

CHAPTER XI.

OTHER PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

I. The Spartan government, accustomed as it was to consider the individual citizen as a cipher, except in so far as his welfare or ruin affected the general interest, naturally interfered in matters which, in other states, are generally left to each man's discretion.

II. Thus, for example, marriage and the education of children from infancy were under the control of the government, which exacted from every man unswerving and laborious attention to its interests, and imposed all sorts of fetters and restraints, for the purpose of sustaining its own independence and the permanence of the existing constitution.

1. *Marriage, &c.*

I. The object of marriage was to obtain a supply of sturdy citizens and warriors. With this view, the state imposed a penalty on celibacy (*δίκη ἀγαμίου*), and even on those who married too late in life (*δίκη ὀψιγαμίου*). The father of three children enjoyed certain

[1] *Herod.*, ix., 81. [2] *Thucyd.*, v., 63. [3] *Plut., Lac., Apophth.*, p. 197.
[4] *Arist., Polit.*, ii., 6, 23. [5] *Müller, Dor.*, iii., 10, 11.

privileges, and a divorce was easily obtained where there were no children. A penalty was also imposed on unsuitable marriages (*δίκη κακογαμίου*), as, for instance, where the wife was too young. The marriage solemnity consisted in a sort of abduction of the bride.

II. In the olden times no dowry was given; but if the bride were without brothers, and consequently had inherited the estate of her father, the land became the property of her husband. Before the law of Epitadeus was passed, a female could not possess property in land under any other circumstances than those here mentioned. It was the duty of the kings to decide questions affecting the marriage of heiresses.

III. The domestic relation of the wife to her husband among the Dorians was in general the same as that of the ancient Western nations, described by Homer as universal among the Greeks, and which existed at Rome until a late period; the only difference being, that the peculiarities of the custom were preserved by the Dorians more strictly than elsewhere. It formed a striking contrast with the habits of the Ionian Athenians, with whom the ancient custom of Greece was almost entirely supplanted by that of the East.[1]

IV. Among the Ionians of Asia, the woman, as we are informed by Herodotus, did not share the table of her husband; she dared not call him by his name, but addressed him with the title of lord, and lived secluded in the interior of the house: on this model the most important relations between man and wife had been also regulated at Athens. But among the Dorians of Sparta the wife was honored by her husband with the title of *δέσποινα*,[2] though she lived in the interior of the house, like the Ionian female. Nay, so strange did the importance which the Lacedæmonian women enjoyed, and the influence which they exercised as the managers of their household and mothers of families, appear to the other Greeks, at a time when the prevalence of Athenian manners prevented a due consideration for national customs, that Aristotle[3] actually supposed Lycurgus to have attempted, but without success, to regulate the life of women, as he had that of the men; and the Spartans were frequently censured for submitting to the yoke of their wives.

2. *Public Education of Boys.*

I. The great aim of the government was to form, by means of education, a race of citizens whose bodily strength and powers of endurance, united to moral vigor and public spirit, would be a security for their performing efficiently the duties which it required.

[1] *Müller, Dor.*, iv., 4, 4. [2] *Plut., Lyc.*, 14. [3] *Polit.*, ii., 6, 8; *Plut., Lyc.*, 14.

II. From their infancy, children, especially boys, were looked upon as the property of the state. As soon as they were born they were examined by a council composed of the elders of the family,[1] for the purpose of ascertaining that they had no bodily infirmity or deformity, which might render it necessary to expose them; a custom most revolting to our own better feelings, but which does not appear more barbarous than that of the ancient world in general, which, in earlier times at least, gave the father full power over the lives of his children.

III. Boys were left to their parents until their seventh year, when the state undertook their education, in order to accustom them to strict military discipline and qualify them for the army. This public education and discipline was continued step by step through different ages, the younger being always subordinate to their immediate seniors. Besides the sons of Spartans (*πολιτικοὶ παῖδες*), this education was enjoyed by the *mothaces* (or slaves brought up in the family), who were selected to share it with them, and sometimes by Spartans of half-blood.[2]

IV. This public education, moreover, was one chief requisite for a free citizen.[3] Whoever refused to submit to it suffered a partial loss of his rights. The immediate heir to the throne was the only person excepted, while the younger sons of the kings were brought up in the common herd (*ἀγέλη*). Leonidas and Agesilaus, two of the noblest princes of Sparta, submitted, when boys, to the correction of their masters.

V. From the twelfth year upward, the education of boys began to be much more strict. About the age of sixteen or seventeen they were called *σιδεῦναι*.[4] At the age of eighteen the Spartan youth emerged from childhood, and was called *Melleiren* (*μελλείρην*).[5] When he attained the age of twenty, he was termed *Eiren* (*εἴρην*), or *Iren* (*ἴρην*). At the age of twenty, moreover, he began to exercise a direct influence over his juniors, and was intrusted with the command of troops in battle. During the progress from the condition of an ephebus to manhood, the young Spartans were called also by the general name of *Sphæreis*[6] (*σφαιρεῖς*), probably because their chief exercise was foot-ball (*σφαῖρα*), which game was carried on with great emulation, and, indeed, resembled a battle rather than a diversion.[7]

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[1] We have followed Müller's reading here of "family" instead of "tribe" (*Plut., Lyc.*, 16).
[2] *Xen., Hell.*, v., 3, 9; *Müller, Dor.*, iv., 5, 1.
[3] *Plut., Lac. Apophth.*, p. 243.
[4] *Photius, s. v. συνέφηβος.*
[5] *Plut., Lyc.*, 17.
[6] *Paus.*, iii., 14, 6.
[7] *Müller, Dor.*, iv., 5, 2.

VI. The Spartan youth were divided into ἀγέλαι, or, in the Spartan dialect, βοῦαι,[1] with an overseer termed βουᾶγόρ, and then distributed into smaller troops called ἴλαι.[2] This last name (applied also to troops of horse) is one among several other proofs, that in early times, at least, the exercise of riding was one of the principal occupations of the youths of Sparta. In these divisions, all distinction of age was lost; the leaders of them were taken from the Eirenes, and exercised great power over the younger members; for the exercise of which, however, they were in their turn responsible to every citizen of a more advanced age, and particularly to the pædonomus. A similar arrangement was adopted in the societies of the girls and young women.

3. *Education with Reference to the Body.*

I. The mode of life pursued by the boys was exceedingly simple. Their diet was spare, but it was considered by no means disgraceful to improve it by means of theft, which was thought good practice for their cunning and courage. If, however, they were detected in their attempts at stealing, they were subjected to severe corporal punishment for their awkwardness. The laxity of the Spartan notions respecting private property was the natural result of that state policy which accustomed the citizens to think only of the public interest. Hence the permission to appropriate in certain cases the movable property of their neighbors, and hence the thieving practiced by the Spartan boys.

II. The dress of the boys was simple. From the age of twelve they received yearly a short cloak (τρίβων), but were not allowed any shoes or covering for the head. Their beds were bundles of hay or reeds. Their exercises were gymnastics, namely, leaping, wrestling, and hurling the discus and javelin; warlike dances, for instance the πυῤῥίχη and βίβασις; and hunting. One mode of hardening them was the annual scourging in the temple of Diana Orthia, to which we have already referred.

4. *Education with Reference to the Mind.*

I. But, although bred in this manner, the Spartan warrior was not a stranger to music and poetry. He was taught to sing and to play on the flute or lyre; but the strains to which his voice was formed were either sacred hymns, or breathed a martial spirit; and it was because they cherished such sentiments that the Homeric poems, if not introduced by Lycurgus, became popular among the Spartans

[1] *Hesych., s. v.* βοῦα.

[2] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, 2, 11; *Plut., Lyc.*, 16.

at an early period. For the same reason, Tyrtæus was held in high honor, while Archilochus was banished because he had not been ashamed to record his own flight from the field of battle.[1]

II. The mental training of boys consisted chiefly in cultivating a moral taste, and imparting to them presence of mind and promptness of decision; and hence the Spartans became proverbial for ready, pointed, and sententious brevity in their ordinary conversation. Modesty, obedience, and reverence for age and rank were inculcated more by example than by precept, and upon these qualities, above all others, the stability of the commonwealth reposed, since that respect for the laws of his country, which rendered the Spartan averse to innovation, was little more than another form of the reverence and awe with which in earlier years he had regarded the magistrates and the aged.[2]

5. *Education of Females.*

I. The education of young women was conducted with a view, not so much to the discharge of domestic and household duties, as to the citizens they were to give to the state. They were to be the mothers of a robust race, and hence were subjected to the same athletic exercises as the hardier sex. Notwithstanding the freedom enjoyed by women, and their exposure, in their exercises, in a manner which would shock the feelings of a modern, we do not find that in the sexual relations the Spartans were less pure than any other ancient or modern people.

II. After marriage the women appeared much less in public than before. But, although they were not allowed to enjoy much of the society of their husbands, they were, as already remarked, treated with a respect, and exercised an influence unknown to the rest of Greece. In the latter period of Spartan history, they alone among the Grecian women show a dignity of character which renders them worthy rivals of the noblest of the Roman matrons.

6. *Men—their Mode of Life.*

I. During the interval between the age of twenty and thirty, the Spartan was not yet permitted to appear in the public assembly, and seems to have been chiefly employed in military service in the camp or on the frontier.

II. When he had attained the full age of maturity, he was a soldier in time of war, and in time of peace enjoyed the leisure which was believed to be essential to the dignity of a freeman; but, in order

[1] *Schmitz, Hist. Gr.*, p. 103. [2] *Schmitz, l. c.*

that he might not become unfitted for war, his amusements were the palæstra and chase, from which he rested only at the public meals.

III. These public meals were called *Syssitia* (συσσίτια), and in later times *Phiditia* (φειδίτια), or the "spare meals." All persons were obliged to be present at them, and no one, not even the kings, was allowed what was called an ἀφίδιτος ἡμέρα,[1] or excused from attendance at the public tables, except for some satisfactory reason, as when engaged in a sacrifice or a chase, in which latter case the individual was required to send a present to his table.[2]

IV. The expenses of the tables were not defrayed out of the public revenues, but every head of a family was obliged to contribute a certain portion at his own cost and charge. This contribution, which was a monthly one, was as follows, namely, one medimnus of barley; eight congii of wine; five minæ of cheese; two and a half minæ of figs, and a small payment of money. Neglect of this regulation subjected the offender to the loss of civic privileges, and exclusion from the public tables.[3]

V. The guests were divided into companies, generally of fifteen persons each, and all vacancies were filled up by ballot, in which unanimous consent was indispensable for election. Each person was supplied with a cup of mixed wine, which was filled again when required, but drinking to excess was prohibited.

VI. The repast was of a plain and simple character. The principal dish was the μέλας ζωμός, or black broth, with pork.[4] The ἐπαίκλον, or after-meal (from the Doric ἄϊκλον, a meal), was, however, more varied, and richly supplied by presents of game, poultry, fruit, &c., and other delicacies, which no one was allowed to purchase. Moreover, the entertainment was enlivened by cheerful conversation, though on public matters. Singing, also, was frequently introduced, as we learn from Alcman. The arrangements were under the superintendence of the polemarchs.

The use and purposes of the *Syssitia* are very manifest. They united the citizens by the closest ties of intimacy and union, making them consider themselves members of one family, and children of one and the same mother, the state. They maintained, moreover, a strict and perfect separation between the higher and the subject classes, and kept up in the former a consciousness of their superior worth and station, together with a strong feeling of nationality. At Sparta, also, they were eminently useful in a military point of view, for the members of the syssitia were formed into corresponding military divisions, and fought together in the field, as they had lived together at home, with more bravery and a keen-

[1] *Hesych., s. v.*
[2] *Plut., Lyc.*, 12; *Agis*, 10.
[3] *Arist., Polit.*, ii., 7, 4.
[4] *Athen.*, iv., p. 141.

er sense of shame than could have been the case with mere chance comrades.[1]

The simplicity and sobriety which were in early times the characteristics of the syssitia at Sparta, were afterward supplanted by luxury and effeminate indulgence. The change was probably gradual, but the kings Areus and Acrotatus (B.C. 300) are recorded as having been mainly instrumental in accelerating it. The reformer Agis endeavored, but in vain, to restore the old order of things, and perished in the attempt.

The institution of the syssitia existed not only with the Spartans and Cretans, among both of whom it was kept up until comparatively recent times, but also at Megara in the age of Theognis, and at Corinth in the time of Periander, who, it seems, abolished the practice as being favorable to aristocracy.[2] Nor was it confined to the Hellenic nation; for, according to Aristotle, it prevailed still earlier among the Œnotrians in the south of Italy, and also at Carthage, the political and social institutions of which state resembled those of Sparta and Crete.[3]

7. *Other Modes of sustaining the Ancient Discipline.*

I. It was required by law that not only the diet, but the dwellings also, and domestic economy, even of their kings, should be exceedingly simple, and that all, as far as it was possible, should fare alike. Their dress, in addition to the *chiton* (the only garment of young boys), consisted of the coarse, short Laconian cloak (*τρίβων*, *τριβώνιον*), a broad-brimmed hat (*πῖλος*), and a pair of sandals of simple construction (*ἁπλαῖ*).

II. The dress of the women was also much lighter and more simple than that of the Ionic females. The *himation* of the Doric maidens was a garment of woollen stuff, without sleeves, and fastened over both shoulders by clasps (*πόρπαι*, *περόναι*), which were often of considerable size;[4] while the Ionic women wore sleeves of greater or less length.

III. The Spartan, from his youth upward, preserved, in order to distinguish him from slaves and mechanics, the hair of his head uncut. Both men and women tied the hair in a knot over the crown of the head;[5] while, according to the Ionic custom, which in this respect resembled that of the barbarians, it was divided into locks, and connected over the forehead with golden clasps in the shape of cicadæ.

8. *Relaxation of Discipline.*

I. By such institutions, which promoted simplicity of manners and equality of property, while they cherished public spirit, and pre-

[1] *Herod.*, i., 65. [2] *Arist., Pol.*, v., 9, 2. [3] *Id. ib.*, ii., 8.
[4] *Herod.*, v., 87. [5] *Aristoph., Lys.*, 1113. Compare *Hor., Od.*, ii., 11.

vented in a great measure any intercourse with foreigners, the constitution was for a while sustained in its old Laconic character. When, however, the Spartans, especially in the Persian war, had become acquainted with foreign lands and manners, and experienced the charms of pleasures hitherto unknown, the severity of their discipline gradually relaxed; and the whole system of government, no longer adapted to the enlarged views of the people, and, at the same time, incapable, from its unpliant character, of being either modified or developed, lost all power of regulating or guiding individual exertions.

II. This degeneracy of manners was especially remarkable at the period of the Peloponnesian war. The number of citizens continued to decrease, and selfishness and avarice now extended their grasp. The most shameless corruption prevailed in all public offices, low as well as high; thus fulfilling the well-known oracular proverb, *ἀ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν.*

Sept. 3. 1859.

III.

CRETA.

CRETA.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ISLAND.

I Crete was inhabited at an early period by a numerous and civilized population. Homer speaks of its hundred cities, and mythology told of a king named Minos, who resided at Cnosus before the Trojan war, and ruled over the greater part of the island. He is said to have given laws to Crete, and to have been the first prince who had a navy, with which he suppressed piracy in the Ægean. After his descendants had governed the island for some generations, royalty was abolished, and the cities became independent republics, of which Cnosus and Gortyna were the most important.

II. About sixty years after the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus, a body of Dorians settled in Crete, and reduced the former inhabitants, the Pelasgians and Achæans, to subjection. The Dorians thus became the ruling class, and the social and political institutions of the island became also Dorian. The Cretan constitution, indeed, resembled that of Sparta in so many particulars, that several of the ancient writers supposed the Spartan constitution to have been borrowed from Crete. Lycurgus, moreover, according to the legend, had visited Crete before the establishment of his constitution in Sparta.

III. The probability is, however, that the points of resemblance between the institutions of Sparta and Crete arose from their common Dorian origin, while the differences that existed between them are owing to the circumstance of Lycurgus's having intended to give the Spartans in some respects a peculiar set of institutions, which would take them out of the general line of Dorian communities.

Jan. 4.
1852.

CHAPTER II.

DIVISION OF THE INHABITANTS.

I. The inhabitants of Crete were divided into three ranks,[1] namely, slaves, freemen, and an intermediate class, nearly equally removed from the degradation of the one and from the privileges of the other. This class probably consisted chiefly of the old proprietors of the land, who had submitted without a struggle to the invaders. They were called, as in the case of the Spartans, *Periœci* (περίοικοι), a name indicating, as we have already remarked, a rural population, dwelling in open towns or villages, in contrast with the citizens, who resided in the capital of each district. Their lands were subject to a peculiar tax; but their persons were free, and their industry was unrestricted.

II. The privileges reserved for the citizens, that is, the members of the superior class, consisted in the power of making legal enactments, the administration of justice, the government of the state, the exclusive use of certain arms, and the exercises in the public schools by which the citizens were trained to use them. The bow was the ordinary weapon of the *Periœci*, who in all ages supplied the Greek armies with their best archers.

III. The slaves were probably divided into two classes, namely, those who were already in a state of servitude at the time of the conquest, and those of the ancient free inhabitants who were taken with arms in their hands, and who purchased their lives by the sacrifice of their liberty. Besides the lands which were left to their former owners, and those which were occupied by the citizens, each state reserved a domain for itself, which was cultivated by public slaves, who constituted a separate body, called *μνῶα* (probably connected with *δμώς*). Every individual freeman had his own slaves, who tilled his land, and whom he might sell, but not carry out of the country. A third class of slaves, employed for the most menial labors, was purchased from abroad, as is indicated by their name, *χρυσώνητοι* (bought with gold). The Dorian citizen or freeman had no occupation save warlike exercises; he lived upon the toil of his subjects and slaves; he knew no care but the defence of his station, and to secure to himself the enjoyment of its privileges.[2]

[1] *Schmitz, Hist. Gr.*, p. 85, *seqq.*

[2] *Thirlwall, Hist. Gr.*, vol. i., p. 320, *seqq.*; *Schmitz, l. c.*

CHAPTER III.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

I. The form of government was very nearly the same in all the Dorian colonies in Crete; a circumstance which shows that it every where sprang out of the character of the age and of the people, and was not the result of accident or design. The state of things closely resembled that described in the Homeric poems, the only difference being that the royal dignity seems to have been unknown in any of the Cretan states. When Aristotle observed that it once existed in Crete, he had most probably the age of Minos in view.

II. In the earliest period to which our information goes back, we find the place of kings occupied by magistrates, who bore the peculiar title of *κόσμος*. They were ten in number, and the first in rank, the *proto-cosmos*, gave his name to the year. This title seems to have been chosen with reference to the most important of their functions, that of commanding in war. They also represented the state in its intercourse with foreigners, and held or conducted all deliberations relating to its general interests. They were elected by the whole body of the citizens, but out of a certain number of privileged houses or families. Aristotle's censure implies that, in his day at least, little attention was paid to any qualities of intrinsic worth. They held their office for a year, at the end of which those who had approved themselves worthy of their station might aspire to fill up the vacancies which occurred in the council or senate.

III. The senate, or council of elders (*γερωνία, βουλή*), seems to have been limited to thirty. Its members were elected by the people from the most deserving of those who had filled the supreme magistracy, and they retained their office for life. They were the counsellors of the ten chief magistrates, administered the internal affairs of the state, and watched over its tranquillity and order. They were also judges, it would seem, as we hear of no distinction, both in civil and criminal causes; subject, it is said, to no responsibility, which perhaps may only mean that their judgments could not be reversed, and that their judicial power was not limited by any written law.

IV. This brief outline shows that the Cretan constitution was strictly aristocratic, like those which prevailed throughout Greece in the Heroic ages. The assembly of the people, consisting of the

Dorian conquerors and their fellow-adventurers, might be convoked by the magistrates whenever they had any measures to lay before it; but the individual members of the assembly were not allowed to discuss these measures; they could only accept or reject them as a body; nay, it is even doubtful whether they really did possess the right of rejecting a measure brought before them. The principal duties of the citizen were to be discharged in the field of battle.[1]

CHAPTER IV.

DISCIPLINE AND MODE OF LIFE.

I. The most important feature in the Cretan mode of life is the usage of the *syssitia*, or public meals, to which we have already alluded in our description of the customs of Sparta. All the citizens partook of these, as at Sparta, without distinction of rank. In most Cretan cities, the expense of these *syssitia* was defrayed by the state out of the revenues of the domain-lands, and the tribute paid by their subjects. Each citizen received his share, out of which he paid his contribution to one of the public tables, and provided for the females of his household.

II. There was another regulation peculiar to the Cretans, and characteristic of the friendly intercourse among the Dorian cities of the island; in every town there was a public building for the reception of strangers, and in every banqueting room two tables were set apart for foreign guests.

III. These *syssitia*, whatever their origin may have been, answered several important ends; they maintained a strict separation between the ruling and the subject classes; they kept alive in the former the full consciousness of their superior station and their national character; they bound together the citizens by ties of the most endearing intimacy; taught them to look on one another as members of the same family; and gave an efficacy to the power of public opinion, which must have almost superseded the necessity of any penal laws. We may add that they provided a main part of the education of the young. Until the boys had reached their eighteenth year, they accompanied their fathers to the public board, with the orphans of the deceased. The younger waited at the table. All the young people might thus listen to the conversation of their elders, and were under the eye of officers appointed by the state to superintend them, and who seem to have watched over their con-

[1] *Thirlwall*, i., p. 322, *seqq.*; *Schmitz*, p. 86, *seq.*

duct. On other occasions, also, they were early inured to hardship and laborious exercises, and their strength and spirit were tried by frequent combats between rival companies. The intervals between these occupations were filled up with simple lessons in poetry and music, and, in later times, in the rudiments of letters.

III. From their eighteenth year they were placed under stricter rules; they were now divided into troops, headed by some youth of noble family, who was himself placed under the control of an elder person, generally his father, who directed the exercises of the troop in the chase, the course, and the wrestling school. When the youths entered into the society of men, they were compelled by law to choose a bride, who, however, seems to have continued to live with her parents until she was found capable of discharging the duties of a wife and mother.

IV.

ATHENS.

ATHENS (*αἱ Ἀθῆναι*).

CHOROGRAPHY.

CHAPTER I.

THE COUNTRY OF ATTICA.

I. Attica (Ἀττική) may be considered as forming a triangle, the base of which is common also to Bœotia, while the two sides lie upon the sea, and the vertex is formed by the Promontory of Sunium. The prolongation of the western side till it meets the base at the extremity of Cithæron served also as a common boundary to Attica and Megaris. Hence Attica may be said to be bounded on the north and northwest by Bœotia, and on a part of its western side by Megaris, and the rest of the country to be washed by the sea.

II. Attica is divided by nature into three parts: 1. The *Eastern* or highland country (*ἡ διακρία, ὀρεινὴ Ἀττική*), extending from Mount Parnes to the Promontory of Cynosūra. 2. The *Western* district, less mountainous (*ἡ πεδιάς, τὸ πεδίον*), with the sea-coast (*ἀκτή*), reaching to the promontory called Zoster. 3. The southern point of land (*ἡ παραλία*), terminated by the Promontory of Sunium.

III. Attica is, on the whole, a meagre land, wanting the fatness of the Bœotian plains, and the freshness of the Bœotian streams. It could scarcely boast of more than two or three fertile tracts, the chief one of which was the celebrated Eleusinian plain, so famed in Attic legends as the soil which had been first enriched by the gifts of Ceres. Other productions of Attica were olives, figs, and wine. The honey of Hymettus was also celebrated. The mountainous districts were favorable to the breeding of cattle. Its mineral productions were marble (chiefly from Pentelĭcus), silver and lead (from Laurium). The climate was healthy and agreeable, the air being remarkably pure and bracing.[1]

IV. Attica would have been a country, however, of little importance, but for the position which it occupied as the southeast foreland of Greece, with valleys opening on the coast, and ports inviting the commerce of Asia. From the top of its hills the eye surveys

[1] *Thirlwall*, i., p. 14.

the whole circle of its islands, which form its maritime suburbs, and seem to point out its historical destination.

V. As to the ancient population of Attica, it is difficult to come to any satisfactory conclusion. Clinton considers that, about B.C. 317, it may have been about five hundred and twenty-seven thousand, a large population for such a territory (being above seven hundred to the square mile), even if we take into account that it contained a populous city.

Sept. 9. 1852.

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CAPITAL.

I. Athens (*αἱ Ἀθῆναι*), the capital of Attica, was situate about thirty stadia from the sea, on the southwest slope of Mount Lycabettus, between the small rivers Cephisus on the west and Ilissus on the east, the latter of which flowed close by the walls of the city. The more ancient part of it, the *Acropolis*, is said to have been built by the mythical Cecrops, but the city itself is said to have owed its origin to Theseus, who united the twelve independent states or townships of Attica into one state, and made Athens the capital. Hence perhaps the plural name of the city.

II. The city was burned by Xerxes in B.C. 480, but was soon rebuilt under the administration of Themistocles, and was adorned with public buildings by Cimon, and especially by Pericles, in whose time (B.C. 460–429) it reached its greatest splendor. Its beauty was chiefly owing to its public buildings, for the private houses were mostly insignificant, and its streets badly laid out. Toward the end of the Peloponnesian war it contained ten thousand houses,[1] which, at the rate of twelve inhabitants to a house, would give a population of one hundred and twenty thousand, though some writers make the inhabitants as many as one hundred and eighty thousand.

III. Under the Romans, Athens continued to be a great and flourishing city, and retained many privileges and immunities when Southern Greece was formed into the Roman province of Achaia. It suffered greatly, however, on its capture by Sulla, B.C. 86, and was deprived of many of its privileges. It was at this time, and also during the early centuries of the Christian era, one of the chief seats of learning, and the Romans were accustomed to send their sons to Athens, as to a university, for the completion of their education. Hadrian, who was very partial to Athens, and frequently re-

[1] *Xen., Mem.*, iii., 6, 14.

sided in the city (A.D. 122, 128), adorned it with many new buildings, and his example was followed by Herodes Atticus, who spent large sums of money upon beautifying the city in the reign of M. Aurelius.

IV. Athens consisted of two distinct parts: I. *The City* (τὸ ἄστυ), properly so called, divided into the *Upper City* or *Acropolis* (ἡ ἄνω πόλις, ἀκρόπολις), and the *Lower City* (ἡ κάτω πόλις), surrounded with walls by Themistocles; and, II. The Lower harbor-towns of *Piræeus*, *Munychia*, and *Phalerum*, also surrounded with walls by Themistocles, and connected with the city by means of the *long walls*, completed under the administration of Pericles.

V. The *long walls* consisted of the wall to Phalerum on the east, thirty-five stadia long (about four miles), and of the wall to the Piræeus on the west, forty stadia long (making nearly five miles). Between these two, at a short distance from the latter and parallel to it, another wall was erected, thus making two walls leading to the Piræeus (sometimes called τὰ σκέλη), with a narrow passage between them. There were, therefore, three long walls in all; but the name of Long Walls seems to have been confined to the two leading to the Piræeus, while the one leading to the Phalerum was distinguished by the name of the *Phalerian Wall* (τὸ Φαληρικὸν τεῖχος).

VI. The entire circuit of the walls was one hundred and seventy-four and a half stadia (nearly twenty-two miles), of which forty-three stadia (nearly five and a half miles) belonged to the city, seventy-five stadia (nearly nine and a half miles) to the Long Walls, and fifty-six and a half stadia (seven miles) to the Piræeus, Munychia, and Phalerum. We will now proceed to give a more minute account of the city, considered under its two grand divisions into Upper and Lower.

1. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE ACROPOLIS, OR UPPER CITY.

I. The *Acropolis*, also called *Cecropia*, from its reputed founder Cecrops, was a steep rock in the middle of the city, about one hundred and fifty feet high, one thousand one hundred and fifty feet long, and five hundred broad. Its sides were naturally scarped of all sides except the western end. It was originally surrounded by an ancient Cyclopian wall, said to have been built by the Pelasgians. At the time of the Peloponnesian war only the northern part of this wall remained, and this portion was still called the *Pelasgic Wall*, while the southern part, which had been rebuilt by Cimon, was called the *Cimonian Wall*.

II. The principal objects meriting attention on the Acropolis were

the *Propylæa, Parthenon, Erechtheum*, and colossal *statue of Minerva Promachos.*

(A.) PROPYLÆA.

I. The term *Propylæa* means "the Entrances," and denotes the entrance to a temple or sacred inclosure, consisting of a gateway flanked by buildings, whence the plural form of the word. The Egyptian temples generally had magnificent *Propylæa*, consisting of a pair of oblong truncated pyramids of solid masonry, the faces of which were sculptured with hieroglyphics.[1] In Greek, however, except when the Egyptian temples are spoken of, the word is generally used to signify the entrance to the Acropolis of Athens, which was the last completed of the great works of architecture executed under the administration of Pericles.

II. The building of the Propylæa occupied five years (B.C. 437–432), and cost two thousand and twelve talents. The name of the architect was Mnesicles.[2] The edifice was of the Doric order, and presented in front the appearance of a hexastyle portico of white marble, with the central intercolumniation wider than the rest, and with two advanced wings, containing chambers, the northern one of which (that on the left hand) was adorned with pictures, which are fully described by Pausanias,[3] and among which were works by Polygnotus, and probably by Protogenes. On the right hand, and in front of the Propylæa, stood the temple of *Nike Apteros*, and close to the entrance the statue of *Hermes Propylæus*; and the *Propylæa* themselves were adorned with numerous statues.[4]

III. A broad road led straight from the *Agora* to the *Propylæa*, which formed the only entrance to the Acropolis, and the immediate approach to which was by a flight of steps, in the middle of which there was left an inclined plane, paved with Pentelic marble, as a carriage-way for the processions. Both ancient and modern writers have agreed in considering the *Propylæa* as one of the most perfect works of Grecian art.

(B.) PARTHENON.

I. The *Parthenon* (Παρθενών) was the temple of Athena (Minerva) Parthenos. It was also called *Hecatompedon* (Ἑκατόμπεδον) or *Hecatompedos* (Ἑκατόμπεδος, *scil.* νεώς), from its being one hundred feet in one of its chief dimensions, probably in the breadth of the top step on which the front pillars stand. It was erected under the ad-

[1] *Herod.*, ii., 63, 101, 121, &c.
[2] *Plut., Per.*, 13; *Thucyd.*, ii., 13; *Poppo, ad loc.*
[3] *Paus.*, i., 22, § 4, *seqq.*
[4] *Paus., l. c.*

ministration of Pericles, on the site of the older temple of Minerva burned during the Persian invasion, and was completed by the dedication of the statue of the goddess, B.C. 438. Its architects were Ictinus and Callicrates, but all the works were under the superintendence of Phidias.

II. It was built entirely of Pentelic marble. Its dimensions were two hundred and twenty-seven English feet long, one hundred and one broad, and sixty-five high. It was fifty feet longer than the edifice which had preceded it. Its architecture was of the Doric order, and of the purest kind. It consisted of an oblong central building (the *cella* or *νεώς*), surrounded on all sides by a peristyle of pillars, forty-six in number, eight at each end and seventeen at each side (reckoning the corner pillars twice), elevated on a platform, which was ascended by three steps all round the building. Within the porticoes, at each end, was another row of six pillars, standing on a level with the floor of the *cella*, and two steps higher than that of the peristyle.

III. The cella was divided into two chambers of unequal size, the *prodomus* or *pronaos*, and the *opisthodomus*. The former, which was the larger, contained the statue of the goddess, and was the true sanctuary, the latter being probably used as a treasury and vestry. Both these chambers had inner rows of pillars (in two stories, one over the other), sixteen in the former and four in the latter, supporting the partial roof, for the large chamber, at least, had its centre open to the sky. Technically, the temple is called *peripteral octastyle hypæthral*. It was adorned within and without with colors and gilding, and with sculptures which are regarded as the masterpieces of ancient art.

IV. The colossal chryselephantine (ivory and gold) statue of Minerva, which stood at the end of the prodomus, opposite to the entrance, was the work of Phidias himself, and surpassed every other statue in the ancient world, except that of Jupiter at Olympia by the same artist. The other sculptures were executed under the direction of Phidias, by different artists, but the most important of them were doubtless from the hand of Phidias himself. These sculptures were on the tympana of the pediments, in the frieze of the entablature,[1] &c.

(C.) ERECHTHĒUM.

I. The *Erechthēum* (Ἐρεχθεῖον) was a beautiful temple of the Ionic order, dedicated to Erechtheus, and standing near the western brow

[1] *Smith's Class. Dict., s. v.*

of the Acropolis. It was, in fact, a compound building, since it contained three separate temples, namely, the *Erechtheum* proper, the temple of *Minerva Polias*, or the protectress of the city, and the *Pandrosium*, or sanctuary of Pandrosos. The Erechtheum contained the olive-tree produced by Minerva in her contest with Neptune, as also the well of salt water created by the latter.

(D.) STATUE OF MINERVA PROMACHOS.

Not far from the Erechtheum stood the bronze colossal statue of *Minerva Promachos*, or the Defender, the work of Phidias. The spear and helmet of this colossal figure were visible, towering above the Acropolis, to those who approached Athens by sea, as soon as they had rounded Cape Sunium.

2. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE LOWER CITY.

I. The Lower City was built in the plain round the Acropolis, but this plain also contained several hills, especially in the southwestern part, which will be mentioned presently.

II. The principal objects worthy of notice under the present head may be enumerated as follows: *Walls, Gates, Chief Districts, Hills, Public Buildings, Monuments.*

(A.) WALLS.

The ancient walls embraced a much greater circuit than the modern ones. On the west they included the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx. On the south they extended a little beyond the Ilissus; and on the east they crossed the Ilissus, near the Lyceum, which was outside the walls. The Long Walls have already been described.

(B.) GATES.

I. The number of the gates is unknown, and the position of many of them is uncertain; but the following list contains the most important. On the *west* side were, 1. *Dipylum* (Δίπυλον), more anciently Θριάσιαι or Κεραμικαί, *scil.* πύλαι. This was the most frequented gate of the city, leading from the inner Ceramicus to the outer Ceramicus and the Academy. 2. The *Sacred Gate* (αἱ Ἱεραὶ πύλαι), where the sacred road to Eleusis began. 3. The *Knight's Gate* (αἱ Ἱππάδες πύλαι), probably between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx. 4. The *Piræan Gate* (ἡ Πειραϊκὴ πύλη), between the Pnyx and the Museum, leading to the carriage road (ἁμάξιτος) between the Long Walls to the Piræus. 5. The *Melitian Gate* (αἱ Με-

[1] *Smith, Dict., s. v.*

λιτίδες πυλαι), so called because it led to the demus Melite, within the city.

II. On the *south* side, going from west to east: 6. The *Gate of the Dead* (αἱ Ἡρίαι πύλαι), in the neighborhood of the Museum, placed by many authorities on the north side. 7. The *Itonian Gate* (αἱ Ἰτωνίαι πύλαι), near the Ilissus, where the road to Phalerum began.

III. On the *east* side, going from south to north: 8. The *Gate of Diochares* (αἱ Διοχάρους πύλαι), leading to the Lyceum. 9. The *Diomēan Gate* (ἡ Διόμεια πύλη), leading to Cynosarges and the demus Diomēa. On the *north* side: 10. The *Acharnian Gate* (αἱ Ἀχαρνικαὶ πύλαι), leading to the demus of Acharnæ.

(C.) CHIEF DISTRICTS.

I. The *Inner Ceramīcus* (Κεραμεικός), or "Potter's Quarter," in the west of the city, extending north as far as the Gate Dipylum, by which it was separated from the outer Ceramicus. The southern part of the inner Ceramicus contained the old *Agora*, or market-place, for there were two market-places in the city, namely, the Old and the New. The latter was in a quarter which had previously belonged to the demus of Eretria. The change was made from the Old to the New Agora after the former had been defiled with massacre by Sulla.

II. After the inner Ceramicus may be mentioned, 2. The *demus Melite*, south of the preceding, and perhaps embracing the Hill of the Museum. 3. The *demus Scambonidæ*, west of the inner Ceramicus, between the Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs. 4. The *Collytus*, south of Melite. 5. *Cœle*, a district south of Collytus and the Museum, along the Ilissus, in which were the graves of Cimon and Thucydides. 6. *Limnæ*, a district east of Melite and Collytus, between the Acropolis and the Ilissus. 7. *Diomēa*, a district in the east of the city, near the gate of the same name and the Cynosarges.

(D.) HILLS.

I. The *Arēopăgus* (Ἀρείου πάγος, or Ἄρειος πάγος), "the Hill of Mars," west of the Acropolis, and which gave its name to the celebrated council that held its sittings there. It was accessible on the south side by a flight of steps cut out of the rock. 2. The *Hill of the Nymphs*, northwest of the Areopagus. 3. The *Pnyx* (Πνύξ), a semicircular hill, southwest of the Areopagus, where the assemblies of the people were held in early times, for afterward the people usually met in the theatre of Bacchus. 4. The *Musēum*, south of

the Pnyx and the Areopagus, on which was the monument of Philopappus, and where the Macedonians built a fortress.

(E.) PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

I. TEMPLES. Of these the most important were, 1. The *Olympiēum* (Ὀλυμπίειον), a temple of the Olympian Jove, southeast of the Acropolis, near the Ilissus and the fountain Callirrhoë. It was one of the most ancient and magnificent of the sacred edifices of Athens. It was begun by Pisistratus, B.C. 530, and remained long unfinished, being only completed by the Emperor Hadrian. The whole length of the structure was three hundred and fifty-four feet, and the breadth one hundred and seventy-one feet. 2. The *Thesēum* (Θησεῖον), or temple of Theseus, on a hill north of the Areopagus, erected to that hero after the battle of Marathon, when Cimon was sent to the island of Scyros to convey his remains thence to Athens. It is still one of the best preserved public buildings in Athens. 3. The temple of Mars, south of the Areopagus, and west of the Acropolis. 4. The *Metroum* (Μητρῷον), or temple of the mother of the gods, east of the Agora, and south of the Acropolis, and containing a statue, the work of Phidias. Here the archives of the state were deposited, and it served also as a tribunal for the chief archon.

II. STATE BUILDINGS. 1. The *Senate-house* (βουλευτήριον), adjacent to the Metroum. Here the senate of five hundred, who formed the annual council of the state, had their meetings. It contained statues of Jupiter the Counsellor, of Apollo, and the Athenian Demos. 2. The *Tholus* (Θόλος), a round building close to the senate-house, which served as the new *Prytaneum*, in which the prytanes took their meals and offered their sacrifices. 3. The *Prytanēum* (Πρυτανεῖον), at the northeastern foot of the Acropolis, where the prytanes used more anciently to take their meals, and where the laws of Solon were preserved.

III. STOÆ. Halls or porticoes supported by pillars, and used as places of resort in the heat of the day, of which there were several at Athens. In the Agora there were three, namely, 1. The *Stoa Basilēos* (στοὰ βασίλειος), the court of the king archon. 2. *Stoa Pœcile* (στοὰ ποικίλη), so called because it was adorned with fresco paintings of the battle of Marathon, and other achievements by Polygnotus, Lycon, and others. 3. *Stoa Eleutherius* (στοὰ ἐλευθέριος), or Hall of Jupiter Eleutherius. This and the preceding were both on the south side of the Agora.

IV. THEATRES. 1. The *Theatre of Bacchus*, on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, and the great theatre of the state. It was

also called the Temple of Bacchus. In this theatre, which, according to Dicæarchus, was the most beautiful in existence, the dramatic contests were decided, and dramatic exhibitions were held. From Plato we may collect that it was capable of containing thirty thousand spectators. From the level of the plain a semicircular excavation gradually ascended the slope of the hill to a considerable height, while the part which projected into the plain was formed of masonry. Round the concavity were the seats of the audience, rising range above range; and the whole was topped and inclosed by a lofty portico, adorned with statues, and surrounded by a balustraded terrace.

2. The *Odēa* (*Ὠδεῖα*), or Music Theatres, for contests in vocal and instrumental music, of which there were three, namely, an ancient one near the fountain of Callirrhoë, a second built by Pericles, close to the theatre of Bacchus, on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, and a third built by Herodes Atticus, in honor of his wife Regilla, on the southwestern slope. This last was the most magnificent edifice of the sort in the whole Roman empire. The length of its largest diameter was two hundred and forty-eight feet, and it is calculated to have afforded accommodations for about eight thousand persons. The Odeum of Pericles is said to have been constructed in imitation of the tent of Xerxes. Plutarch informs us that it was richly decorated with columns, and that the roof terminated in a point. It was set on fire by Aristion, general of Mithradates, who defended Athens against Sulla, but it was afterward restored at the expense of Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia.

V. Stadium (*τὸ Στάδιον*), south of the Ilissus, in the district of Agræ. It was erected for the celebration of the games during the Panathenaic festival, by Lycurgus, the son of Lycophron, as we find in Plutarch's life of that orator. Pausanias describes it as an astonishing structure, rising in the shape of an amphitheatre above the Ilissus, and extending to the banks of that river. The area of the building still remains entire, together with other vestiges.

VI. Lyceum (*τὸ Λύκειον*), a gymnasium or public palæstra, with covered walks, in the eastern suburb, named after the neighboring temple of Apollo *λύκειος*. It was frequented by philosophers, and was more especially the favorite walk of Aristotle and his followers.

(F.) MONUMENTS.

1. The *Monument of Andronicus Cyrrhestes*, formerly called the *Tower of the Winds*, an octagonal building, with its faces to the points of the compass, north of the Acropolis, and intended for a

horologium. This building is still extant. On the summit was a bronze figure of a Triton, holding a wand in his hand; and this figure turned on a pivot, so that the wand always pointed above that side of the building which faced the wind when blowing. The directions of the several faces were indicated by figures of the eight winds on the frieze of the entablature. On the plain wall below the entablature of each face, lines are still visible, which, with the gnomons standing out above them, formed a series of sun-dials. In the centre of the interior of the building was a clepsydra, the remains of which are still visible, for the water was supplied from the turret on the south, and escaped by the hole in the centre.

2. The choragic monument of Lysicrates, frequently, but erroneously, called the Lantern of Demosthenes, still extant in the street of the tripods. This street was so called from its being lined with small temples where prize tripods were usually deposited. 3. The monument of Harmodius and Aristogiton, in the Agora, just before the ascent to the Acropolis.

Sept. 11. 1852.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE.

I. The oldest political division of Attica known by tradition was that by Cecrops into twelve parts. Another division into four parts, among the four sons of Pandion, had a distinct reference to the physical divisions of the Attic peninsula, including in this term Megaris, which afterward fell into the hands of the Dorians. A division into four tribes (*φυλαί*), and also a division into four castes, is attributed to Ion. This division into four tribes remained until the time of Clisthenes, who increased the number to ten. These ten tribes were subdivided into one hundred and seventy-four demi (*δῆμοι*), or townships, each demus apparently containing a town or small village. Under Macedonian influence two tribes were added, called respectively *Antigonīa* and *Demetrias*, but these names were afterward changed to *Ptolemais* and *Attalis*. A new tribe was added in honor of the Emperor Hadrian.

II. The first period of Athenian history, ending with the war of Troy, is of a mythical character. Actæus was the first king of Attica. Cecrops, according to one fable, was a native of Attica, who married the daughter of Actæus, and succeeded to the monarchy; according to another fable, he was an Egyptian, who brought from Egypt the arts of social life, and laid the foundation of the religious

and political system of the Athenians. Of the successors of Cecrops, Erechtheus the first, otherwise called Erichthonius, was of divine or unknown descent. A second Erechtheus fought with the Eumolpidæ of Eleusis, and lost his life. Ægeus, the son of the second Pandion, in the course of time came to the throne; and his son Theseus, as he was the last, so he was the greatest of the Athenian heroes. As the reputed founder of the Athenian polity, who united into one confederation the twelve hitherto independent states or cities of Attica, established by Cecrops, he appears to be invested with the character of an historical personage.

III. If we endeavor to trace the history of the Athenian people, we find the obscurity of their origin expressed by the statement that they were *Autochthŏnes*, sprung from the earth, or a people coeval with the land which they inhabited. Herodotus says that the Athenians were originally *Pelasgi*, and that they became changed into *Hellenes* or Greeks. Such a change implies the conquest of the country by one race, while it was already in the possession of another; it implies, also, either the amalgamation of the conquered and conquering races, or the extinction of those who were compelled to yield. The former is supported by more probabilities. Xuthus, the son of Hellen, married a daughter of the second Erechtheus, and became the father of Achæus and Ion; and thus the name *Ionian* became attached to the Attic soil. We have the historical fact that the names of the four tribes which existed till the time of Clisthenes were supposed to be derived from the names of the four sons of Ion.

IV. The line of Athenian kings, whatever may have been its historical commencement, terminated with Codrus, when the office of king ceased at Athens, and the supreme executive power was vested in an archon or governor, whose office, from being hereditary at first, and for life, was by degrees changed into a decennial, and finally into an annual office. When the last change took place, a further alteration was made by distributing the duties of the archon among nine magistrates, instead of giving them all to one. From the death of Codrus to the legislation of Solon, Athenian history presents but few and doubtful facts; and though the personality of Solon, and his framing of a code, can not be matters of doubt, yet the events of his life belong to that epoch where the records of history are still obscure and disputed.

V. With the legislation of Solon (B.C. 594), Athenian history begins to assume a more definite form, and becomes more or less intimately connected with that of Greece in general. Its political

history during and after the age of Alexander is of little importance. The city was often involved in the revolutions and movements of the Macedonian kingdom; but, on the whole, it enjoyed internal tranquillity to the time of the Roman occupation of Greece, which it owed chiefly to the control exercised by the various rulers of Macedonia. Under the Roman sway, Athens, though she had lost her political power and her commerce, was still the centre of the arts and of philosophy, and a favorite residence of the wealthy Romans. From the time of Julius Cæsar to that of Hadrian, it was occasionally honored by the visits of the masters of the Roman world, and to them it owed much of that splendor which Pausanias admired in the second century of our era.

CHAPTER IV.

LEGISLATION OF DRACO.

I. Draco was the author of the first written code of laws at Athens, which were called θεσμοί, as distinguished from the νόμοι of Solon.[1] The immediate cause which led to Draco's legislation, in B.C. 624, is not recorded, nor are we informed of the motives which induced him to give to it that character of severity to which it owes its chief celebrity. According to some modern scholars,[2] the people had demanded probably a written code, to replace the mere customary law of which the Eupatridæ were the sole expounders; and the latter, unable to resist the demand, gladly sanctioned the rigorous enactments of Draco, as adapted to check the democratic movement which had given rise to them. According to others,[3] however, the legislation of Draco was probably not more rigorous than the sentiments of the age; and they add, that the few fragments of the Draconian tables which have reached us, far from exhibiting indiscriminate cruelty, introduce for the first time into the Athenian law mitigating distinctions with respect to homicide, founded on the variety of concomitant circumstances.

II. The code of Draco affixed the penalty of death to almost all crimes, to petty thefts for instance, as well as to sacrilege and murder; which gave occasion to the remarks of Herodicus and Demades, that his laws were not those of a man, but of a dragon (δράκων), and that they were written, not in ink, but in blood. We are told

[1] *Andoc., de Myst.*, p. 11; *Æl., V. H.*, viii., 10.

[2] *C. F. Hermann, Pol. Ant.*, § 103; *Thirlwall*, vol. ii., p. 18.

[3] *Grote*, vol. iii., p. 102.

that he himself defended this extreme harshness by saying that small offences deserved death, and that he knew of no severer punishment for great ones.[1]

III. Draco is said to have also either established or newly regulated the court called the *Ephetæ*,[2] composed of fifty-one elders, who held their sittings for the trial of homicide in different spots, according to the difference of the cases submitted to them. These cases will be stated hereafter, in our account of the various Athenian courts of justice.

IV. From the period of the legislation of Solon (B.C. 594), most of the laws of Draco fell, of course, through special enactments on the part of Solon, into disuse; but Andocides[3] tells us that some of them were still in force at the end of the Peloponnesian war, and we know that there remained unrepealed not only the law which inflicted death for murder, and which, of course, was not peculiar to Draco's code, but that, too, which permitted the injured husband to slay the adulterer if taken *flagrante delicto*.[4] Demosthenes also says that in his time Draco and Solon were justly held in honor for their good laws;[5] and Pausanias and Suidas mention an enactment of the former legislator, adopted by the Thasians, providing that any inanimate thing which had caused the loss of human life should be cast out of the country.[6]

Del. C. 14. 1852.

CHAPTER V.

LEGISLATION OF SOLON.

I. The difficulties arising from party disputes had, in the time of Solon, become greatly aggravated by the miserable condition of the poorer population of Attica, namely, the *Thetes*. The great bulk of these had become sunk in poverty, and reduced to the necessity of borrowing money at exorbitant interest from the wealthy on the security of their estates, persons, or families; and by the rigorous enforcement of the law of debtor and creditor, many had been reduced to the condition of slavery, or tilled the lands of the wealthy as dependent tenants. Matters had come to such a crisis that the lower classes were in a state of mutiny, and it had become impossible to enforce the observance of the laws. Solon was well known as a man of wisdom, firmness, and integrity, and he was therefore called upon by all parties to mediate between them.

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[1] *Aristot., Rhet.*, ii., 23, § 29; *Plut., Sol.*, 17.
[2] *Grote, l. c.*
[3] *Andoc., de Myst.*, p. 11.
[4] *Lys., de Cæd. Erat.*, p. 94; *Paus.*, 9, 36.
[5] *Demosth. c. Timocr.*, p. 765.
[6] *Paus.*, vi., 11.

II. Solon was accordingly chosen archon B.C. 594, and under that legal title was invested with unlimited power for adopting such measures as the exigencies of the state demanded. In fulfillment of the task intrusted to him, he addressed himself to the relief of the existing distress. This he effected with the greatest discretion and success by his celebrated *disburdening ordinance* (σεισάχθεια), a measure consisting of various distinct provisions, calculated to lighten the pressure of those pecuniary obligations by which the Thetes and small proprietors had been reduced to utter helplessness and misery, with as little infringement as possible on the claims of the wealthy creditors.

The details of this measure are involved in considerable uncertainty. Plutarch speaks of it as a total abolition of debts. This, however, is in itself in the highest degree unlikely; and, as is acutely remarked by Grote,[1] would have rendered a debasement of the coinage, another measure of Solon's, to which we shall presently refer, unnecessary and useless. On the other hand, it was certainly more than a reduction of the rate of interest, accompanied by a depreciation of the currency. The extant fragments of the poems of Solon imply that a much larger amount of relief was afforded than we can conceive likely to be produced by a measure of that kind, even if, as Thirlwall supposes,[2] the reduction of interest was made retrospective, which is, in fact, only another way of saying that certain debts, or portions of debts, were wiped off. We gather from Solon himself[3] that he cancelled all contracts by which the land, person, or family of a debtor had been pledged as security, so that the mortgage pillars were removed, slave-debtors released, and those who had been sold into foreign countries restored. But it does not seem necessary to suppose that in every such case the *debt* was cancelled as well as the *bond*, though such may have been the case with regard to some of the most distressed class. At the same time, Solon abolished the law which gave the creditor power to enslave an insolvent debtor, or allowed the debtor to pledge or sell his son, daughter, or unmarried sister, excepting only the case in which either of the latter was convicted of unchastity.[4]

Most writers[5] seem to admit, without any question, the statement that Solon lowered the rate of interest. This, however, rests only on the authority (or conjecture) of Androtion, and as his account is based upon an erroneous view of the whole matter, it may be fairly questioned whether any portion of his statement is to be received, if the essential features of his view of the whole measure be rejected. On the whole, it appears far more likely that Solon did nothing to restrict the rate of interest.

With respect to the depreciation of the coinage, we have the distinct statement that Solon made the mina to contain one hundred drachmæ in-

[1] *Grote*, vol. iii., p. 137.
[2] *Thirlwall*, vol. ii., p. 34.
[3] *Fragm.*, 35, *ap. Bergk*, p. 335; *Plut., Sol.*, 15.
[4] *Plut Sol.*, 23.
[5] *Thirlwall, l. c.; Wachsmuth, H. A.*, § 56, vol. i., p. 472.

stead of seventy-three; that is to say, seventy-three of the old drachmæ produced one hundred of the new coinage, in which obligations were to be discharged; so that the debtor saved rather more than a fourth in every payment.[1]

III. It seems that in the first instance nothing more was contemplated in the investment of Solon with dictatorial power than the relief of the existing distress. But the success of his Seisachtheia procured for him such confidence and popularity that he was further charged with the task of entirely remodelling the constitution. As a preliminary step to his farther proceedings, he repealed all the laws of Draco except those relating to bloodshed.

IV. The distinguishing feature of the constitution of Solon was the introduction of the timocratic principle. The title of citizens to the honors and offices of the state was regulated (at least in part), not by their nobility of birth, but by their wealth. All the citizens were distributed into *four* classes, as follows:

The FIRST CLASS consisted of those who had an annual income of at least five hundred medimni of dry or liquid produce (equivalent to five hundred drachmæ, a medimnus being reckoned at a drachma),[2] and were called *Pentacosiomedimni.*

The SECOND CLASS consisted of those whose incomes ranged between three hundred and five hundred medimni or drachmæ, and were called *Hippeis* (Ἱππεῖς or Ἱππῆς), from their being able to keep a horse, and being bound to perform military service as cavalry.

The THIRD CLASS consisted of those whose income varied between two hundred and three hundred medimni or drachmæ, and were termed *Zeugitæ* (Ζευγῖται), because they were supposed to keep a yoke of oxen for the plough. Böckh's estimate of the lowest pecuniary qualification of this class at one hundred and fifty drachmæ does not appear correct.

The FOURTH CLASS included all whose property fell short of two hundred medimni or drachmæ. Plutarch says that this class bore the name of *Thetes* (Θῆτες),[3] and it appears to have consisted of hired laborers in husbandry. Grote[4] questions whether that statement is strictly accurate. There is no doubt, however, that the census of the fourth class was called the *Thetic census* (Θητικὸν τέλος).

V. The first three classes were liable to direct taxation, in the form of a graduated income tax. The fourth class were exempt from direct taxes, but of course they as well as the rest were liable to indirect taxation. It must be borne in mind, moreover, that a direct tax was an extraordinary, and not an annual payment.

[1] *Smith, Dict. Biogr., s. v. Solon.*
[2] *Plut., Sol.*, 23.
[3] *Id. ib.*, 18.
[4] *Hist. Gr.*, vol. iii., p. 158.

VI. The highest offices in the state were accessible only to members of the first class. Some lower offices were no doubt left open to the second and third classes; but it is uncertain whether the second had any rights or privileges not belonging to the third. These classes, however, were distinguished from each other by the mode of their military service; the second class furnished the cavalry, and the third the heavy-armed infantry. The fourth class were excluded from all public offices, and served in the army only as light troops. Although, as above remarked, they paid no direct taxes, they were, nevertheless, allowed to take part in the popular assembly, as well as in the courts in which justice was administered to the people.

VII. This classification takes no notice of any other than landed property; and it is probable that all those whose wealth consisted in capital were placed on a level with the members of the fourth class. In this manner every class of citizens had its place assigned to it, the object of the legislator being to give the commonalty such a share of power as would enable it to protect itself, and to the wealthy as much as was necessary for maintaining their dignity, or for ruling the people without oppressing them.

VIII. The magistrates retained their ancient powers, but became responsible for the exercise of them, not to their own body, but to the governed. The judicial functions of the archons were, perhaps, preserved in their full extent, but appeals were allowed from their jurisdiction to popular courts, numerously composed, and filled indiscriminately from all classes. The democratic element, which was powerful in the assembly and in the judicial courts, and which in the end overruled every other power in the state, was, in the legislator's opinion, to be checked by two great councils, that of the Four Hundred and that of the Areopagus.

IX. The institution of the *Senate* (*βουλή*) of Four Hundred is uniformly assigned to Solon; but there can be no doubt that before his time a senate or council of nobles existed, though we do not know its number, nor whether it represented the four tribes. The *Areopagus* is likewise said to have been founded by Solon, though it is certain that he only made some changes in its constitution. Of this, however, as well as the senate, we shall speak hereafter.[1]

X. All the citizens enjoyed the right of voting in the general assembly (*ἐκκλησία*), where the magistrates were chosen, and other affairs of the state transacted. They were also invested with certain judicial functions; but of all these matters we will treat more in detail under the proper head.

[1] *Schmitz, Hist. Gr.*, p. 148, *seqq.*

XI. Our knowledge of the civil and penal codes which Solon introduced is very scanty and fragmentary, and we shall here draw attention to a few points only, connected with education and the state of manners at Athens. He did not think it desirable to exercise that minute control over the citizens which Lycurgus had established at Sparta. Up to the age of sixteen, the education of the Athenian youth was left entirely to his parents or guardians. During the next two years he was obliged to be trained in gymnastic exercises, under publicly appointed masters, who kept him subject to a discipline little less severe than that of Sparta. At eighteen he might become master of his patrimony, and entered upon his apprenticeship in arms; he had to keep watch in the towns and fortresses on the frontier and the coast, and perform any task which might be imposed upon him for the protection of the country.

XII. It appears that at this stage his name was entered in the list of citizens, and he had to take the military oath, by which he pledged himself never to disgrace his arms nor to desert his comrade; to fight to the last in defence of Attica, its altars and its hearths; to leave his country, not in worse, but in better plight than he found it; to obey the magistrates and the laws, and resist all attempts to subvert them; and to respect the religion of his ancestors.

XIII. At the end of these two years he was admitted to all the rights and duties of a citizen, for which the law did not prescribe a more advanced age. Till the end of his sixtieth year he was liable to be called out to perform military service.

XIV. Solon appears to have been the first to perceive the advantageous position of Athens for becoming a maritime power, and to have laid the foundation of the Attic navy. He charged the forty-eight sections, called *naucrariæ* (*ναυκραρίαι*), into which the tribes had been divided for financial purposes, each with the equipment of a galley, as well as with the mounting of two horsemen. He also gave active encouragement to trade and manufactures, and with this view invited foreigners to settle in Attica by the assurance of protection and large privileges.

XV. The laws of Solon were inscribed on wooden tablets, arranged in pyramidal blocks turning on an axis, and were termed *ἄξονες* or *κύρβεις*. According to some, the *ἄξονες* contained the civil laws, and the *κύρβεις* the religious ones. At first they were kept in the Acropolis, but afterward, for greater convenience of inspection, they were brought down to the Prytaneum.[1]

[1] *Schmitz, l. c.*

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CHAPTER VI.

INCREASE OF POPULAR INFLUENCE.

I. The constitution of Solon was designed to maintain the chief political power just where it was, namely, in the hands of the rich, whom he divided into three classes, as we have already observed, according to their property, and to whom alone he gave the privilege of filling public offices; but by allowing the fourth or poorest class to be members of the ἐκκλησία, or general assembly, and to be the dicasts or jurymen in the courts of justice, he laid, perhaps unintentionally, the foundation of a pure democracy.

II. The usurpation of Pisistratus (B.C. 560), who by fraud and force seized upon the supreme executive power, did not change the laws of Solon, it is said, though it certainly must have changed, for the time at least, a great part of the constitutional forms of Athens. This power he transmitted to his son Hippias. But the latter had neither the ability nor the good fortune of his father, and he was finally driven out of Athens in B.C. 510. After the suppression of this power, though brought about mainly by the aristocratic faction of the Alcmæonidæ, the influence of the democracy began to be enlarged by the increase of citizens, and the establishment of various republican institutions, as, for example, the fresh divisions of the people into ten tribes (φυλαί) in place of the old four, the Ostracism, &c.

III. But it was at the end of the Persian war that the people, in spite of many struggles on the part of the aristocracy to retain the balance of power, became possessed of an overwhelming preponderance. This was the result, partly of the importance attached to the naval service, which brought into request the active and laborious qualities of the lower orders; partly of the ruin of so many wealthy individuals; but, above all, of the eager longing after additional power, which was the natural result of their previous triumphs.

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1852.

CHAPTER VII.

DECLINE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

I. The increase of wealth consequent upon their naval superiority, and its necessary results, luxury and extravagance, had a corrupting effect on the character of the people. The democratic influence began to be abused; and the doctrine that all men were eligible to offices of state, gave birth to the monstrous notion that all were equally qualified, without reference to their talents or fitness for the office. Presents and largesses began to have their effect. By degrees, the practice was introduced of remunerating men for their attendance at courts of justice or the public assemblies.

II. Pericles, the author of many of these and other changes, kept, it is true, the people, to a certain extent, within bounds through his personal exertions and influence, and through the respect in which he was held. But after his death the injurious effects of the system became only more apparent. The mass of the people continued to separate more and more their own interest from that of the state, and to view in public or individual prosperity only the means of gratifying their own wants or appetites. Rich citizens were annoyed by informations, the allies of the state ruined by extortions. Demagogues, fully instructed by the Sophists in the arts of political logic and popular rhetoric, flattered the selfishness and vanity of the people, and availed themselves, in many instances, of their credulity, mistrust, and superstition.

III. The aristocracy, which had long been endeavoring again to raise its head, availed itself of the sudden scarcity of money, and the confusion caused by the desertion of the allies in the Peloponnesian war, to restore some of the more aristocratical features of the government. At the end of the war (B.C. 404), Lysander introduced an oligarchical form of government, the administration of which was intrusted to thirty individuals chosen out of the body of senators; but the tyrants (as they were justly denominated) abused their power, and were speedily deposed by Thrasybulus and his followers.

IV. After various struggles, the democratic constitution was re-established (B.C. 363), and the code of Solon, with certain modifications, again became the law of the land. But the character of the people had in the mean time degenerated, while the admission

of foreigners and manumitted slaves to the privileges of citizenship had augmented the numbers of the lowest class. All the abuses of democracy returned, therefore, with increased force, and real liberty was gradually lost under the pressure of the Macedonian and Roman yokes, although some of the ancient constitutional forms were still retained at Athens with the name of a free state, which she continued to enjoy until the dissolution of the empire.

CHAPTER VIII.

INHABITANTS OF THE STATE, AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION.

1. *Citizens by Birth.*

I. The inhabitants of Attica were either freemen or slaves. The freemen, again, were either Attic citizens or foreign settlers; and, lastly, the citizens were either such as enjoyed the privilege in virtue of their birthright, or were admitted to the rights of citizenship.

II. According to the law of Solon, every man was entitled to full political rights (*πολιτεία*) whose father was a citizen, even though the mother was a native of some other state with which the citizens of Athens had no connubial relations, or what was termed *ἐπιγαμία*, the right of intermarriage. A law, however, was passed by Pericles, that this privilege should belong only to children both of whose parents were citizens; but subsequently this law was repealed at the instance of the same statesman, after he had lost all his legitimate children.

III. The law, however, was again modified in such a way as to make a distinction between those whose parents were both of them Athenians and those who had only one free parent. For instance, those who had but one parent an Athenian were not allowed to exercise in any of the gymnasia that were frequented by those who had both, but only at the Cynosarges in the Outer Ceramicus. In the same place there was a court of judicature, where persons suspected of having fraudulently insinuated themselves into the number and privileges of citizens were arraigned. This proceeding was termed *δίκη τῆς ξενίας*.

IV. In order, moreover, to prevent all frauds of this nature, all fathers were obliged to enroll their sons in the register of their particular ward, probably when they were three or four years old. There were also two other seasons at which young men were enrolled, namely, at the ages of eighteen and twenty. By the former of these enrollments they were admitted into the number of the

ephebi; by the latter they were registered among the *men*, and became thenceforth their own masters. Both of these have already been alluded to.

V. The higher offices of the state, however, were not open to the Athenian citizen until he had attained his thirtieth year. Those, moreover, could alone exercise full political rights who were ἐπιτίμιοι: persons who had lost one or more of their privileges were termed ἀτίμοι. This ἀτιμία, to which we shall hereafter again refer, was either temporary or perpetual, and might be more or less severe.[1]

2. *Persons admitted to the Rank of Citizens.*

I. By the constitution of Solon, no foreigner could be admitted to the rights of citizenship unless he had done the state some service, and was regularly domiciliated at Athens. The candidate on whom the citizenship was to be conferred was proposed in two successive assemblies, at the second of which at least six thousand citizens voted for him by ballot. Even if he succeeded, his admission, like every other decree, was liable, during a whole year, to a γραφὴ παρανόμων. He was registered in a phyle and demus, but not enrolled in the phratria and γένος, an explanation of which terms will be given farther on.

II. Persons thus admitted were denominated δημοποίητοι, or simply ποιητοί. In some respects, however, their position was not precisely the same as that of the native citizens, neither the priesthood nor the archonship being open to them. In the early days of the Athenian commonwealth the freedom of the city was seldom bestowed; but subsequently the admission of foreigners to that privilege was more frequent. In B.C. 427, after the destruction of Platææ, the honor was conferred on all the inhabitants as a reward for their tried fidelity, and toward the close of the Peloponnesian war many of the *Metœci*, or resident foreigners, were made citizens.

3. *Metœci.*

I. *Metœci* (μέτοικοι) is the name by which at Athens and in other Greek states the resident aliens were designated, and these, again, must be distinguished from such strangers as made only a transitory stay in the place, for it is expressly mentioned as a characteristic of a μέτοικος that he resided permanently in the place. In the census instituted by Demetrius Phalereus (B.C. 309), the number of resident aliens at Athens was ten thousand, in which number women and children were probably not included.[2] These aliens were per-

[1] Compare the account of the Spartan ἀτιμία, page 117. [2] *Athen.*, vi., p. 272.

sons from all parts of Greece, as well as from barbarous countries, such as Lydians, Phrygians, and Syrians.

II. The jealousy with which the citizens of the ancient Greek republics kept their body clear of intruders is also manifest in their regulations concerning aliens. However long they might have resided in Athens, they were always regarded as strangers, whence they are sometimes called *ξένοι*, and, to remind them of their position, they had, on some occasions, to perform certain degrading services to the Athenian citizens. For instance, the married alien women had to carry a vessel with water (*ὑδρία*) for the married female citizens of Athens when they walked to the temple of Minerva in procession at the festival of the Panathenæa. On this same occasion the husbands carried certain skiff-shaped sacrificial vessels (*σκάφη*), and the daughters parasols (*σκιάδες*) over the Athenian maidens. These services were, however, in all probability, not intended to hurt the feelings of the aliens, but were simply acts symbolical of their relation to the citizens.

III. Aliens, moreover, were not allowed to acquire any landed property in the state which they had chosen for their residence, and were consequently obliged to live in hired houses or apartments,[1] and hence the letting of houses was a subject of much speculation and profit at Athens.

IV. As the aliens did not constitute a part of the state, and were yet in constant intercourse and commerce with its members, every alien was obliged to select a citizen for his patron (*προστάτης*), who was not only the mediator between them and the state, through whom alone they could transact any legal business whether private or public, but was, at the same time, answerable (*ἐγγυητής*) to the state for the conduct of his client. On the other hand, however, the state allowed the aliens to carry on all kinds of industry and commerce under the protection of the law; in fact, at Athens nearly all business was in the hands of aliens, who, on this account, lived for the most part in the Piræeus.

V. Each family of aliens, whether they availed themselves of the privilege of carrying on any mercantile business or not, had to pay an annual tax (*μετοίκιον* or *ξενικά*) of twelve drachmæ, or, if the head of a family was a widow, of only six drachmæ.[2] If aliens did not pay this tax, or if they assumed the rights of citizens, and probably, also, in case they refused to select a patron, they not only forfeited the protection of the state, but were sold as slaves. Ex-

[1] *Demosth. pro Phorm.*, p. 946; *Xen., de Vectig.*, ii., 2.

[2] *Böckh, Pub. Econ.*, iii., 7.

traordinary taxes and liturgies devolved upon aliens no less than upon citizens. The aliens were also obliged, like citizens, to serve in the regular armies, and in the fleet, both abroad and at home, for the defence of the city. The heirs of a μέτοικος who died in Attica were under the jurisdiction of the polemarch.[1]

VI. The preceding account of the condition of the aliens at Athens applies, with very few modifications, to most other parts of Greece.

4. *Slaves.*

I. There were two kinds of slavery among the Greeks. One species arose when the inhabitants of a country were subdued by an invading tribe, and reduced to the condition of serfs or bondsmen. They lived upon and cultivated the land which their masters had appropriated to themselves, and paid them a certain rent. They also attended their masters in war. They could not be sold out of the country or separated from their families, and could acquire property. Such were the Helots of Sparta, the Penestæ of Thessaly, &c.

II. The other species of slavery consisted of domestic slaves acquired by purchase, who were entirely the property of their masters, and could be disposed of like any other goods and chattels. These were the δοῦλοι properly so called, and were the kind of slaves that existed at Athens and Corinth. In commercial cities slaves were very numerous, as they performed the work of the artisans and manufacturers of modern towns. In poorer republics, which had little or no capital, and which subsisted wholly by agriculture, they would be few: thus in Phocis and Locris there are said to have been originally no domestic slaves.[2]

III. The majority of slaves were purchased; few comparatively were born in the family of the master, partly because the number of female slaves was very small in comparison with the male, and partly because it was considered cheaper to purchase than to rear slaves. A slave born in the house of a master was called οἰκότριψ, in contradistinction to one purchased, who was called οἰκέτης. If both the father and mother were slaves, the offspring was called ἀμφίδουλος. If the parents were οἰκότριβες, the offspring was called οἰκοτρίβαιος.[3]

IV. It was a recognized rule of Greek national law, that the persons of those who were taken prisoners in war became the property of the conqueror,[4] but it was the practice for Greeks to give liberty to those of their own nation on the payment of a ransom. Conse-

[1] *Demosth. c. Steph.*, ii., p. 1135.
[2] *Athen.*, vi., p. 264, c.
[3] *Pollux*, iii., 76.
[4] *Xen., Cyr.*, vii., 5, 73.

quently almost all slaves in Greece, with the exception of the serfs already mentioned, were barbarians.

V. It appears to follow from a passage in Timæus[1] that the Chians were the first who carried on the slave trade. In this island the slaves were more numerous than in any other place except Sparta, that is, in comparison with the free inhabitants.[2] In the early ages of Greece, as already remarked in a previous part of the present work, a great number of slaves were obtained by pirates, who kidnapped persons on the coast; but the chief supply seems to have come from the Greek colonies in Asia Minor, who had abundant opportunities of obtaining them from their own neighborhood and the interior of Asia. A considerable number of slaves also came from Thrace, where the parents frequently sold their children.[3]

VI. At Athens, as well as in other states, there was a regular slave market, called the κύκλος, because the slaves stood in a circle. They were also sometimes sold by auction, and appear then to have been placed on a stone called the πρατὴρ λίθος.[4] The same was also the practice in Rome, whence the phrase *homo de lapide emtus*. The slave market at Athens seems to have been held on certain fixed days, usually the last day of the month.

VII. The price of slaves naturally differed according to their age, strength, and acquirements. "Some slaves," says Xenophon,[5] "are well worth two minas, others hardly half a mina; some sell for five minas, and others even for ten; and Nicias, the son of Niceratus, is said to have given no less than a talent for an overseer in the mines."[6] Böckh has collected many particulars respecting the price of slaves; he calculates the value of a common mining slave at from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty drachmæ. The knowledge of any art had a great influence upon the value of a slave.

VIII. The number of slaves was very great at Athens. According to the census made when Demetrius Phalereus was archon (B.C. 309), there are said to have been twenty-one thousand free citizens; ten thousand Metœci; and four hundred thousand slaves in Attica.[7] According to this, the slave population is so immensely large in proportion to the free, that some writers have rejected the account altogether, while others have supposed a corruption in the numbers, and that for four hundred thousand we ought to read forty thousand.[8]

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1 *Ap. Athen.*, vi., p. 265, *b*.
2 *Thucyd.*, viii., 40.
3 *Herod.*, v., 6.
4 *Pollux*, iii., 78.
5 *Mem.*, ii., 5, 2.
6 *Böckh, Pub. Econ.*, p. 67, *seqq.*, *ed.* 2*d*.
7 *Ctesicles ap. Athen.*, vi., p. 272, *c*.
8 *Hume's Essays*, vol. i., p. 443.

Böckh and Clinton,[1] however, remark, with some justice, that in computing the citizens and Metœci, the object was to ascertain their political and military strength, and hence the census of only males of full age was taken; while in enumerating slaves, which were property, it would be necessary to compute all the individuals who composed that property. The fact, however, that the slave population in Attica was much larger than the free, is incontrovertible; during the occupation of Decelea by the Lacedæmonians, more than twenty thousand Athenian slaves escaped to that place.[2] In Corinth and Ægina their number was equally large: according to Timæus, Corinth had four hundred and sixty thousand, and, according to Aristotle, Ægina four hundred and seventy thousand slaves. But these large numbers, especially in relation to Ægina, must be understood only of the early times, before Athens had obtained possession of the commerce of Greece.

IX. At Athens even the poorest citizen had a slave for the care of his household, and in every moderate establishment many were employed for all possible occupations, as bakers, cooks, tailors, &c. The number possessed by one person was never so great as at Rome during the later times of the republic, and under the empire, but still it was very considerable. Plato expressly remarks that some persons had fifty slaves and even more.[3] Philemonides had three hundred, Hipponicus six hundred, and Nicias one thousand slaves in the mines alone.

X. It must be borne in mind, however, when we read of one person possessing so large a number of slaves, that they were employed in various work-shops, mines, or manufactories. The number which a person kept to attend to his own private wants or those of his household was probably never very large. And this constitutes one great distinction between Greek and Roman slaves, that the labor of the former was regarded as the means by which an owner might obtain profit for the outlay of his capital in the purchase of slaves, while the latter were chiefly employed in ministering to the wants of their master and his family, and in gratifying his luxury and vanity.

XI. Slaves either worked on their master's account or their own (in the latter of which cases they paid their master a certain sum a day), or they were let out by their master on hire, either for the mines or any kind of labor, or as hired servants for wages (ἀποφορά). The rowers on board the ships were usually slaves;[4] and it is re-

[1] *Fast. Hell.*, ii., p. 391.
[2] *Thucyd.*, vii., 27.
[3] *De Rep.*, ix., p. 578.
[4] *Isocr., de Pace*, p. 169, *ed. Steph.*

marked as an unusual circumstance that the seamen of the Paralos (one of the Athenian sacred galleys) were freemen.[1] These slaves either belonged to the state or to private persons, who let them out to the state on payment of a certain sum. It appears that a considerable number of persons kept large gangs of slaves merely for the purpose of letting out, and found this a profitable mode of investing their capital. Great numbers were required for the mines. We learn from a fragment of Hyperides, preserved by Suidas, that there were at one time as many as one hundred and fifty thousand slaves who worked in the mines and were employed in country labor. Generally, none but inferior slaves were confined in these mines: they worked in chains, and numbers died from the effects of the unwholesome atmosphere.

XII. The proprietor was exposed to the great danger of their running away, when it became necessary to pursue them and offer rewards for their recapture. Antigenes of Rhodes was the first that established an insurance of slaves. For a yearly contribution of eight drachmæ for each slave that was in the army, he undertook to make good the value of the slave at the time of his running away.[2] Slaves that worked in the fields were under an overseer (ἐπίτροπος), to whom the whole management of the estate was frequently intrusted, while the master resided in the city; the household slaves were under a steward (ταμίας), the female slaves under a stewardess (ταμία).[3]

XIII. The Athenian slaves did not, like the Helots of Sparta and the Penestæ of Thessaly, serve in the armies. The battles of Marathon and Arginusæ, when the Athenians armed their slaves,[4] were exceptions to the general rule.

XIV. The condition of Greek slaves was, upon the whole, better than that of Roman ones, with the exception perhaps of Sparta, where, according to Plutarch,[5] it was the best place in the world to be a freeman, and the worst to be a slave. At Athens, especially, the slaves seem to have been allowed a degree of liberty and indulgence which was never granted to them at Rome. On the reception of a new slave into a house at Athens, it was the custom to scatter sweetmeats, as was done in the case of a newly-married pair.[6]

XV. The life and person of a slave were also protected by the law. A person who struck or maltreated a slave was liable to an

[1] *Thucyd.*, viii., 73.
[2] *Pseudo-Arist., Œcon.*, c. 35.
[3] *Xen., Œcon.*, xii., 2; ix., 11.
[4] *Pausan.*, i., 32; *Schol. ad Aristoph., Ran.*, 33.
[5] *Lyc.*, 28.
[6] *Aristoph., Plut.*, 768; *Pollux*, iii., 77.

action (*ὕβρεως γραφή*).[1] A slave, too, could not be put to death without legal sentence.[2] He could even take shelter from the cruelty of his master in the temple of Theseus, and there claim the privilege of being sold by him (*πρᾶσιν αἰτεῖσθαι*).[3] The person of a slave, however, was not considered so sacred as that of a freeman: he was not believed upon oath, and his evidence in courts of justice was always taken with torture.

XVI. Slaves were sometimes manumitted at Athens, though not so frequently as at Rome; but it seems doubtful whether a master was ever obliged to liberate a slave against his will for a certain sum of money, as some writers have concluded from a passage of Plautus.[4] Those who were manumitted (*ἀπελεύθεροι*) did not become citizens, as they did at Rome, but passed into the condition of *Metœci*. They were obliged to honor their former master as their patron (*προστάτης*), and to fulfill certain duties toward him, the neglect of which rendered them liable to the *δίκη ἀποστασίου*, by which they might again be sold into slavery.

XVII. Another class of slaves at Athens were the *Demosii* (*δημόσιοι*), or public slaves, who were purchased by the state. Some of them filled subordinate places in the assembly and courts of justice, and were also employed as heralds, checking clerks, &c. They were usually called *δημόσιοι οἰκέται*, and, as we learn from Ulpian,[5] were taught at the expense of the state, to qualify them for the discharge of such duties as have been mentioned. As these public slaves did not belong to any particular individual, they appear to have possessed certain legal rights which private slaves had not.[6]

XVIII. Another class of public slaves formed the city guard or police. It was their duty to preserve order in the public assembly, and to remove any person whom the Prytanes might order.[7] They are generally called bowmen (*τοξόται*), or, from the native country of the majority, Scythians (*Σκύθαι*), and also Spensinians, from the name of the person who first established the force.[8] There were also among them many Thracians and other barbarians. They originally lived in tents in the market-place, and afterward upon the Areopagus. Their officers had the name of *Toxarchs* (*τόξαρχοι*). Their number was at first three hundred, purchased soon after the battle of Salamis, but was afterward increased to twelve hundred.[9]

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1 *Demosth. in Mid.*, p. 529.
2 *Antiph., de cæd. Herod.*, p. 728.
3 *Plut., Thes.*, 36.
4 *Cas.*, 5, 7.
5 *Ad Dem., Olynth.*, ii., p. 15.
6 *Meier, Att. Process*, p. 401, 560.
7 *Schneider, ad Xen., Mem.*, iii., 6, 1.
8 *Pollux*, viii., 131.
9 *Böckh, Pub. Econ.*, p. 207, *seqq.*

CHAPTER IX.

PHYLÆ (Φυλαί) AND DEMI (Δῆμοι).

1. *Phylæ.*

I. The Attic tribes or *φυλαί* that we read of are said to have existed in the reign of Cecrops, and were called *Cecropis* (Κεκροπίς), *Autochthon* (Αὐτόχθων), *Actæa* (Ἀκταία), and *Paralia* (Παραλία). In the reign of a subsequent king, Cranaus, these names were changed to *Cranaïs* (Κραναΐς), *Atthis* (Ἀτθίς), *Mesogæa* (Μεσόγαια), and *Diacris* (Διακρίς). Afterward we find a new set of names: *Dias* (Διάς), *Athenais* (Ἀθηναΐς), *Posidonias* (Ποσειδωνιάς), and *Hephæstias* (Ἡφαιστιάς), evidently derived from the deities who were worshipped in the country.[1] Some of those secondly mentioned, if not all of them, seem to have been geographical divisions; and it is not improbable, that, if not independent communities, they were, at least, connected by a very weak bond of union.

II. But all these tribes were superseded by four others, which were probably founded soon after the Ionic settlement in Attica, and seem to have been adopted by other Ionic colonies out of Greece. The names *Geleontes* (Γελέοντες), *Hoplētes* (Ὁπλῆτες), *Argades* (Ἀργάδεις), and *Ægicŏres* (Αἰγικορεῖς), are said by Herodotus[2] to have been derived from the sons of Ion, son of Xuthus. Upon this, however, many doubts have been thrown by modern writers.

III. But, whatever be the truth with respect to the origin of these tribes, one thing is pretty certain, that, before the time of Theseus, whom historians agree in representing as the great founder of the Attic commonwealth, the various people who inhabited the country continued to be disunited and split into factions. Theseus in some measure changed the relations of the tribes to each other, by introducing a gradation of ranks in each; dividing the people into Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, and Δημιοῦργοι, of whom the first were nobles, the second agriculturists or yeomen, the third laborers or mechanics. At the same time, in order to consolidate the national unity, he enlarged the city of Athens, with which he incorporated several smaller towns, made it the seat of government, encouraged the nobles to reside there, and surrendered a part of the royal prerogative in their favor.

IV. The tribes or phylæ were subdivided either in the age of The-

[1] Compare *Pollux.*, viii., 109.

[2] *Herod.*, v., 66.

seus, or soon after, each into three *φρατρίαι*, and each *φρατρία* into thirty *γένη*. For an explanation of these terms, the student is referred to the next chapter.

V. After the age of Theseus, the monarchy having been first limited and afterward abolished, the whole power of the state fell into the hands of the *Eupatridæ*, or nobles, who held all civil offices, and had, besides this, the management of religious affairs and the interpretation of the laws. Attica became agitated by feuds, and we find the people, shortly before the legislation of Solon, divided into three parties, the Πεδιαῖοι, or lowlanders, Διάκριοι, or highlanders, and Πάραλοι, or people of the sea-coast. To appease their discords, Solon was applied to, and thereupon framed his celebrated constitution and code of laws.

VI. The enactments of Solon, and his division of the people into four classes, already mentioned in a previous chapter,[1] continued in force until the democratic reform effected by Clisthenes. He abolished the old tribes and created ten new ones, according to a geographical division of Attica, and named them after ten of the ancient heroes: *Erechtheis*, *Ægeïs*, *Pandionis*, *Leontis*, *Acamantis*, *Œnëis*, *Cecropis*, *Hippothoontis*, *Æantis*, *Antiochis*. These tribes were divided each into ten *δῆμοι*, the number of which was afterward increased by subdivision, but the arrangement was so made that several *δῆμοι*, not contiguous or near to one another, were joined to make up a tribe.

VII. The object of this arrangement was, that by the breaking of old associations, a perfect and lasting revolution might be effected in the habits and feelings as well as in the political organization of the people. He allowed the ancient *φρατρίαι* to exist, but they were deprived of all political importance. All foreigners admitted to the citizenship were registered in a tribe and demus, but not in a phratria or genos. The functions which had been discharged by the old tribes were now mostly transferred to the *δῆμοι*.

VIII. The reforms of Clisthenes were destined to be permanent. They continued to be in force (with some exceptions) until the downfall of Athenian independence. The ten tribes were blended with the whole machinery of the constitution. Of the senate of five hundred, fifty were chosen from each tribe. The allotment of dicasts or jurymen was according to tribes; and the same system of election may be observed in most of the principal offices of the state, judicial and magisterial, civil and military. In B.C. 307, Demetrius Poliorcetes increased the number of tribes to twelve by creating

[1] Page 161.

two new ones, namely, *Antigonias* and *Demetrias*, which afterward received the names of *Ptolemais* and *Attalis;* and a thirteenth was subsequently added by Hadrian, bearing his own name.[1]

2. *Demi.*

I. The word δῆμος originally indicated a district or tract of land, inhabited and under cultivation, and is thus contrasted with πόλις. The transition, however, from a locality to its occupiers being easy and natural, we find δῆμος, in the earlier Greek poets, applied to the outlying country population, who tilled the lands of the chieftains or inhabitants of the city; so that δῆμος and πολῖται came to be opposed to each other, the former denoting the subject peasantry, the latter the nobles in the chief towns.

II. The *Demi* (οἱ δῆμοι) in Attica were subdivisions of the tribes corresponding to the modern *townships* or *hundreds*. Their institution is ascribed to Theseus; but we know nothing about them before the age of Clisthenes, who broke up the four tribes of the old constitution, and substituted ten local tribes (φυλαὶ τοπικαί), each named after some Attic hero,[2] as we have already remarked. These were subdivided each into ten *demi* or country parishes, possessing each its principal town; and in some one of these *demi* were enrolled all the Athenian citizens resident in Attica, with the exception, perhaps, of those who were natives of Athens itself.[3] These subdivisions were one hundred in number, according to Herodotus. In the time of Strabo,[4] however, they had increased to one hundred and seventy-four.

III. The names of the different *demi* were taken, some from the chief towns in them, as Marathon, Eleusis, and Acharnæ; some from the names of houses or clans, such as the Dædalidæ, Boutadæ, &c. The largest of all was the demus of Acharnæ, which, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, was so extensive as to supply a force of no less than three thousand heavy-armed men.

IV. These *demi* all formed independent corporations, and they had each their several magistrates, landed and other property, with a common treasury. They had likewise their respective convocations convened by the *Demarchi* (δήμαρχοι) (of whom a more particular account will be given below), in which was transacted the public business of the demus, such as the leasing of its estates, the election of officers, the revision of the registers or lists of *Demŏtæ* (δημόται), and the admission of new members.

[1] *Plut., Demetr.*, 10; *Paus.*, i., 5, 5; *Pollux*, viii., 110.
[2] *Herod.*, v., 66, 69.
[3] *Thirlwall*, ii., p. 74.
[4] *Strab.*, ix., p. 396.

V. Moreover, each demus appears to have kept what was called a *πίναξ ἐκκλησιαστικός*, or list of those *demotæ* who were entitled to vote at the general assemblies of the whole people. Each demus was also required to furnish the state a certain quota of money and contingent of troops, whenever necessary. Independent of all these bonds of union, each demus seems to have had its peculiar temples and religious worship (*δημοτικὰ ἱερά*),[1] the officiating priests in which were chosen by the *demotæ*, so that both in a civil and religious point of view, the demi appear as minor communities, whose magistrates, moreover, were obliged to submit to a *δοκιμασία*, or a scrutiny into their previous life and conduct, in the same way as the public officers of the whole state.

VI. But besides the magistrates, such as demarchs (to be mentioned below) and treasurers (*ταμίαι*) elected by each parish, we also read of judges, who were called *δικασταὶ κατὰ δήμους*. The number of these, originally thirty, was afterward increased to forty, and it appears that they made circuits through the different districts to administer justice in all cases where the matter in dispute was not more than ten drachmæ in value, more important questions being reserved for the *διαιτηταί*.

VII. Two of the most important functions of the general assemblies of the *demi* were the admission of new members, and the revision of the names of members already admitted. The register of enrollment was called *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, because any person whose name was inscribed in it could enter upon an inheritance and enjoy a patrimony, the expression for which in Attic Greek was *τῆς λήξεως ἄρχειν*, or *λαγχάνειν κλῆρον*, being equivalent to the Roman phrase *adire hæreditatem*. These registers were kept by the demarchs, who, with the approbation of the members of the demus assembled in general meeting, inserted or erased names according to circumstances. Thus, when a youth was proposed for enrollment, it was competent for any demote to object to his admission on the ground of illegitimacy, or non-citizenship by the side of either parent. The demotæ decided on the validity of these objections under the sanction of an oath, and the question was determined by a majority of votes.

3. *Demarchi.*

I. The *Demarchi* (*δήμαρχοι*), to whom frequent allusion has already been made, were the chief magistrates of the demi, and are said to have been first appointed by Clisthenes. Their duties were various

[1] *Paus.*, i., 31; *Pollux* viii., 108.

and important, some of which have already been enumerated. They convened meetings of the demus, and took the votes upon all questions under consideration. They had the custody of the *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, and they made and kept a register of the landed estates (*χωρία*) in their districts, whether belonging to individuals or the body corporate; so that whenever an *εἰσφορά*, or extraordinary property-tax was imposed, they must have been of great service in assessing and collecting the quota of each estate.

II. Moneys due to the demus for rent, &c., were collected by them,[1] and it may safely be allowed that they were employed to enforce payment of various debts and dues claimed by the state. For this purpose they seem to have had the power of distraining. They acted also as police magistrates, and, in conjunction with the dicasts of the towns (*δικασταὶ κατὰ δήμους*), they assisted in preserving peace, and were required to bury, or cause to be buried, any dead bodies found in their district: for neglect of this they were liable to a fine of one thousand drachmæ. Lastly, they seem to have furnished to the proper authorities a list of the members of the township who were fit to serve in war.

Sept. 9. 1857.

CHAPTER X.

PHRATRIÆ (*φρατρίαι*) AND GENE (*γένη*).

I. The tribes were divided, either in the age of Theseus or soon after, each into three *phratriæ* (*φρατρίαι*), a term equivalent to fraternities or brotherhoods, and analogous in its political relation to the Roman *curiæ*. Each *phratria*, again, was subdivided into thirty *γένη*, equivalent to the Roman *gentes*. The members of a *γένος* were called *γεννῆται* or *ὁμογάλακτες*. Each *γένος* was distinguished by a particular name of a patronymic form, which was derived from some hero or mythic ancestor.

II. The phratriæ were retained in the constitution of Clisthenes when their number no longer corresponded to that of the tribes. Their object was to preserve purity and legitimacy of descent among the citizens. Thus, although persons admitted to the rights of citizenship (*δημοποίητοι*) were, as a matter of course, incorporated into some tribe or demus, they were excluded from the phratriæ, and, in consequence, were ineligible to the office either of priest or archon. But they might be created *φράτορες* by a decree of the people, or by adoption into the family of a native citizen.

[1] *Demosth. c. Eubul.*, p. 1318.

III. At the *Apaturia*,[1] an Ionic national festival, the names of newborn children were enrolled in the register of the *phratria*, an arrangement which acted as a check on those who claimed the right of citizenship in virtue of their birth. One of the family duties of the *phratores* was to support the relations of a murdered person in their application for justice, or, where there were no relations, themselves to become the prosecutors. The affairs of the phratria were managed by phratriarchs.

IV. There is no reason to believe that the divisions of phratriæ and γένη originated in the common descent of the persons who were included in them, as they certainly did not imply any such idea in later times. They are rather to be considered as mere political unions, yet formed in imitation of the natural ties of the patriarchal system. The members of the φρατρίαι and γένη had their respective religious rites and festivals, which were preserved long after these communities had lost their political importance, and perhaps prevented them from being altogether dissolved.[2]

Jul. 29. 1852.

CHAPTER XI.

NAUCRĀRIÆ.

I. *Naucraria* (ναυκρᾰρία) is the name of a division of the inhabitants of Attica. Each of the twelve *phratriæ* was divided into four *naucraries*, of which there were thus forty-eight. This division is ascribed to Solon, but, from a passage of Herodotus, it would seem to have existed long before the time of that legislator.[3]

II. What the naucraries were previous to the legislation of Solon is not stated any where; but it is not improbable that they were political divisions similar to the demi in the constitution of Clisthenes, and were made, perhaps, at the time of the institution of the nine archons, for the purpose of regulating the liturgies, taxes, or financial and military affairs in general.[4] At any rate, however, the naucraries, before the time of Solon, can have had no connection with the navy, for the Athenians then had no navy, and the word ναύκρᾰρος can not be derived from ναῦς, a ship, but from ναίω, and ναύκρᾰρος is only another form for ναύκληρος in the sense of a householder, as ναῦλον was used for the rent of a house.[5]

III. Solon, in his legislation, thus only retained the old institution of the naucraries. His innovation probably was that he charged

[1] Page 166. [2] *Niebuhr, Hist. Rom.*, vol. i., p. 311.
[3] *Herod.*, v., 71. [4] *Böckh, Pub. Econ.*, ii., § 21. [5] *Pollux*, x., 20.

each of them with the equipment of one trireme, and with the mounting of two horsemen.[1] All military affairs, as far as regarded the defraying of expenses, probably continued as before to be regulated according to naucraries. Clisthenes, in his change of the Solonian constitution, retained the division into naucraries for military and financial purposes,[2] but he increased their number to fifty, making five out of each of his ten tribes; so that now the number of their ships was increased from forty-eight to fifty, and that of horsemen from ninety-six to one hundred. The functions of the former *ναύκραροι*, as the heads of their respective naucraries, were now transferred to the demarchs.

IV. The obligation of each naucrary to equip a ship of war for the service of the republic may be regarded as the first form of trierarchy. As the system of trierarchy became developed and established, this obligation of the naucraries appears to have gradually ceased and to have fallen into disuse.

Sept. 29. 1852.

CHAPTER XII.

THE POPULAR ASSEMBLY (Ἐκκλησία).

1. *Number—Place of Holding.*

I. The sovereign power of the people was exercised in their public assemblies. These assemblies were either *ordinary*, and held four times in each prytany (a period of thirty-five or thirty-six days), or *extraordinary*, that is, specially convened, upon any sudden emergency, and therefore called *σύγκλητοι*. On occasions of extreme importance, when it was desirable for as many persons as possible to be present at the discussion of any question, the people were summoned by express from the country to the city, and then the assembly was called a *κατακλησία*, the proper meaning of *κατακαλεῖν* being to call from the country into the city.

II. The ordinary assemblies were called *νόμιμοι* or *κύριαι*, and there were three of them every month. Such, at least, is the account of the scholiast on Aristophanes.[3] But according to the best-informed grammarians, who followed Aristotle, the name *κυρία* was appropriated to the first only of the regular assemblies of each prytany.

III. The place in which the assemblies were anciently held was, as we are told by Harpocration,[4] the *ἀγορά*. Afterward they were

[1] *Pollux*, viii., 108.
[2] *Phot.*, *s. v.* Ναυκραρία.
[3] *Arist.*, *Acharn.*, 19.
[4] *Harpocrat.*, *s. v.* Πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη.

transferred to the Pnyx, and at last to the great theatre of Bacchus and other places.

IV. The Pnyx, as already remarked,[1] was situate to the southwest of the Areopagus, on a slope connected with Mount Lycabettus, and was partly, at least, within the walls of the city. It was semicircular in form, with a boundary wall, part rock and part masonry, and an area of about twelve thousand square yards. On the north the ground was filled up and paved with large stones, so as to get a level surface on the slope, from which fact some grammarians derive its name (*παρὰ τῆς τῶν λίθων πυκνότητος*). Others, however, think that it was so called from the crowds accustomed to assemble there (*ἀπὸ τοῦ πυκνοῦσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*).

V. Toward this side, and close to the wall, was the *bema* (*βῆμα*), a stone platform or hustings, ten or eleven feet high, with an ascent of steps. It was cut out of the solid rock, whence it was sometimes called *ὁ λίθος*.[2] The position of the *bema* was such as to command a view of the sea from behind, on which account the thirty tyrants are said to have altered it, lest it might remind the orator, and, through him, the assembled people, of their former power and renown on that element. In front it afforded a view of the Propylæa and Parthenon, though the hill of the Areopagus lay partly between it and the Acropolis.

VI. After, however, the great theatre of Bacchus was built, the assemblies were frequently held in it, as it afforded space and convenience for a large multitude; and in some particular cases it was specially determined by law that the people should assemble there.[3] Assemblies were also held in the Piræeus, and in the theatre at Munychia.

2. *Right of Attending.*

I. With respect to the right of attending the public assemblies, we may observe that it was enjoyed by all legitimate citizens who were of the proper age (generally supposed to be twenty, certainly not less than eighteen), and not laboring under any *atimia* or loss of civil rights. All were considered citizens whose parents were both such, or who had been presented with the freedom of the state, and enrolled in the register of some demus.[4] Adopted citizens, however (*ποιητοί*), were not, as before remarked, qualified to hold the office of archon or any priesthood.[5]

II. Decrepit old men (*γέροντες οἱ ἀφειμένοι*, perhaps those above

[1] Page 153. [2] *Arist., Pax*, 680. [3] *Dem. c. Mid.*, 17.
[4] *Demosth. c. Neaer.*, p. 1380. [5] *Id.*, p. 1376

sixty), seem not to have been admitted, although it is not expressly so stated.[1] Slaves and foreigners also were certainly excluded,[2] though occasions would of course occur when it would be necessary or desirable to admit the latter; and from Demosthenes[3] we may infer, that it was not unusual to admit foreigners toward the close of the proceedings, when the most important business of the day had been concluded; otherwise they stood outside.[4] The *ἰσοτελεῖς*, or foreigners who enjoyed nearly equal privileges with the citizens, are by some thought to have had the same rights as adopted citizens with respect to voting in the assembly.[5] This, however, seems very doubtful.

3. *Prytanes and Proedri.*

I. The senate of five hundred was divided into ten sections of fifty each, the members of which were called *Prytănes* (*πρυτάνεις*), and were all of the same tribe. They acted as presidents both of the senate and the public assemblies during thirty-five or thirty-six days, as the case might be, so as to complete the lunar year of three hundred and fifty-four days ($12 \times 29\frac{1}{2}$). Each tribe exercised these functions in turn, and the period of office was called a *Prytany* (*πρυτανεία*). The turn of each tribe was determined by lot, and the four supernumerary days were given to the tribes which came last in order.[6]

II. To obviate, however, the difficulty of having too many in office at once, every fifty was subdivided into five bodies of ten each, its prytany also being portioned out into five periods of seven days each, so that only ten senators presided for a week over the rest, and were thence called *Proedri* (*πρόεδροι*). Again, one of these *proedri*, an *Epistătes* (*ἐπιστάτης*), was chosen for every day in the week to preside as a chairman in the senate and the assembly of the people; during his day of office he kept the public records and seal.

III. The prytanes had the right of convening the senate and the public assembly. The duty of the proedri and their president was to propose subjects for discussion, and to take the votes both of the senators and people. For neglect of their duty they were liable to a fine.[7]

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[1] *Aristot., Polit.*, iii., 1.
[2] *Aristoph., Thesm.*, 294.
[3] *C. Neaer.*, p. 1375.
[4] *Æsch. c. Ctes.*, p. 86.
[5] *Wolf ad Dem., Lept.*, p. 86.
[6] *Clinton, F. H.*, vol. ii., p. 346.
[7] *Dem. c. Timocr.*, p. 703–707.

4. *Mode of Convening the Public Assembly.*

I. The right of convening the people generally, vested, as we have just remarked, in the prytanes; but in cases of sudden emergency, and especially during wars, the *stratēgi* (στρατηγοί), or ten generals, had the power of calling extraordinary meetings, for which, however, the consent of the senate appears to have been necessary.[1] The four ordinary meetings of every prytany were nevertheless always convened by the prytanes, who not only gave a previous notice of the day of assembling (*προγράφειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*), and published a programme of the subjects that were to be discussed, but also sent a crier round to collect the citizens.

II. All persons who did not obey the call were subject to a fine, and six magistrates, called *lexiarchs* (*ληξίαρχοι*), were appointed, whose duty it was to take care that the people attended the meetings, and to levy fines on those who refused to do so.[2] With a view to this, whenever an assembly was to be held, certain public slaves, called Scythians or Archers (*Σκύθαι, τοξόται*), and who formed the police of Athens, were sent around to clear the agora, and other places of public resort, with a rope colored with vermilion. The different persons whom these ropemen met were driven by them toward the place of assembly, and those who refused to go were marked by the rope and fined.[3] Besides this, all the roads except those which led to the place of meeting were blocked up with hurdles, which were also used as fences to shut in the place of meeting against the intrusion of persons who had no right to be present. Their removal in the latter case seems to have served as a signal for the admission of strangers who might wish to appeal to the people.[4]

III. An additional inducement to attend, with the poorer classes, was the *μισθὸς ἐκκλησιαστικός*, or pay which they received for it. The originator of this practice seems to have been a person named Callistratus, who introduced it "long after the beginning of the influence of Pericles." The payment itself was originally an obolus, but was afterward raised to three by a popular favorite named Agyrrhius of Collytus. The increase took place about B.C. 392. A ticket (*σύμβολον*) appears to have been given to those who attended, on producing which, at the close of the proceedings, they received the money from one of the thesmothetæ.[5] The payment, however, was not made to the richer classes, who attended the assemblies gratis.

[1] *Dem., de Cor.*, p. 249. [2] *Pollux*, viii., 104. [3] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Achar.*, 22.
[4] *Dem. c. Neaer.*, p. 1375. [5] *Aristoph., Eccles.*, 295, 380.

Jeyt. 3a. 165 2.

5. *Mode of Proceeding.*

I. Previous to the commencement of any business, it was usual to make a lustration or purification of the place where the assembly was held. This was performed by an officiating priest called *Peristiarchus* (περιστίαρχος), a name given to him because he went before the lustral victims (τὰ περίστια), as they were carried round the boundary of the place. The favorite victims were sucking pigs (χοιρίδια), the blood of which was sprinkled about the seats, and their bodies were afterward thrown into the sea.[1] After the peristiarch the crier followed, burning incense in a censer. When these ceremonies were concluded, the crier proclaimed silence, and then offered up a prayer, in which the gods were implored to bless the proceedings of the meeting, and bring down destruction on all those who were hostilely disposed toward the state, or who traitorously plotted its overthrow, or received bribes for misleading and deceiving the people. On the conclusion of this prayer business began.

II. It was the duty of the proedri, as already remarked, to lay before the people the subject to be discussed through their president, the *epistates*; to read or cause to be read the previous bill (προβούλευμα) of the senate, and to give permission (γνώμας προτιθέναι) to the speakers to address the people. They most probably sat on the steps near the *bema*, to which they were, on some occasions, called by the people. In later times they were assisted in keeping order by the members of the presiding tribe; and the officers who acted under them were the crier (ὁ κήρυξ) and the Scythian bowmen already mentioned.

III. It was illegal to propose to the assembly any particular measure unless it had previously received the sanction of the senate, or been formally referred by that body to the people, under the title of a προβούλευμα. The assembly, nevertheless, had the power of altering a previous decree of the senate as might seem fit.

IV. The privilege of addressing the assembly was not confined to any class or age among those who had a right to be present; all, without any distinction, were invited to do so by the proclamation, τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται, which was made by the crier after the proedri had gone through the necessary preliminaries, and laid the subject of discussion before the meeting; for though, according to the institutions of Solon, those persons who were above fifty years of age ought to have been called upon to speak first,[2] this regulation had, in the days of Aristophanes, become quite obsolete.

[1] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Achar.*, 24. [2] *Dem., de Cor.*, p. 285; *Aristoph., Acharn.*, 43.

V. The speakers are sometimes simply called οἱ παριόντες, and appear to have worn a crown of myrtle on their heads while addressing the assembly, to intimate, perhaps, that they were then representatives of the people, and, like the archons when crowned, inviolable.[1] They were by an old law required to confine themselves to the subject before the meeting, and keep themselves to the discussion of one thing at a time, and were forbidden to indulge in scurrilous or abusive language: the law, however, had, in the time of Aristophanes, become neglected and almost forgotten.[2] The most influential and practiced speakers of the assembly were generally distinguished by the name of ῥήτορες, but these are not to be regarded as forming any particular body of men recognized by the state.

VI. After the speakers had concluded, any one was at liberty to propose a decree, whether drawn up beforehand or framed in the meeting, which, however, it was necessary to present to the proedri, that they might see, in conjunction with the νομοφύλακες, whether there was contained in it any thing injurious to the state, or contrary to the existing laws.[3] If not, it was read by the crier; though, even after the reading, the chairman could prevent its being put to the vote, unless his opposition was overborne by threats and clamors.[4] Private individuals also could do the same, by engaging upon oath to bring against the author of any measure they might object to, an accusation called a γραφὴ παρανόμων.

VII. If, however, the chairman refused to submit any question to the decision of the people, he might be proceeded against by *endeixis*;[5] and if he allowed the people to vote upon a proposition which was contrary to existing constitutional laws, he was in some cases liable to *atimia*.[6] If, on the contrary, no opposition of this sort was offered to a proposed decree, the votes of the people were taken by the permission of the chairman, and with the consent of the rest of the proedri.

VIII. The decision of the people was given either by show of hands or by ballot; the former was expressed by the word χειροτονεῖν, the latter by ψηφίζεσθαι, although the two terms are frequently confounded. The voting by ballot was by means of black and white pebbles or shells, put into urns; the white for adoption, the black for rejection of any given measure. The more usual method of voting, however, was by show of hands, as being more

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[1] *Aristoph., Eccles.*, 130, 147.
[2] *Æsch. c. Timar.*, p. 5; *Aristoph., Eccles.*, 142.
[3] *Pollux*, viii., 94.
[4] *Æsch., de Fals. Leg.*, p. 39.
[5] *Plat., Apol.*, p. 32.
[6] *Dem. c. Timocr.*, p. 716.

expeditious and convenient (*χειροτονία*). The process was as follows: The crier first proclaimed that all those who were in favor of a proposed measure should hold up their hands; then he proclaimed that all those who were opposed to it should do the same: they did so, and the crier then formed as accurate an idea as possible of the numbers for and against, and the chairman of the meeting pronounced the opinion of the majority. In this way most matters of public interest were determined. Vote by ballot, on the other hand, was only used in a few special cases, determined by law; as, for instance, when a proposition was made for allowing those who had suffered *atimia* to appeal to the people for restitution of their former rights, or for inflicting extraordinary punishments on atrocious offenders, and generally upon any matter which affected private persons.[1] In cases of this sort it was settled by law, that a decree should not be valid unless six thousand citizens at least voted in favor of it. This was by far the majority of those citizens who were in the habit of attending; for, in time of war, the number never amounted to five thousand, and in time of peace, seldom to ten thousand.[2]

IX. The determination or decree of the people was called a *Psephisma* (*ψήφισμα*), which properly signifies a law proposed to an assembly, and approved of by it. The form of drawing up the psephisma varied in different ages. A description of one will be given in the account of the Athenian senate.

X. We now come to the dismissal of the assembly; the order for which, when business was over, was given by the prytanes, through the proclamation of the crier to the people;[3] and as it was not customary to continue meetings, which usually began early in the morning,[4] till after sunset, if one day were not sufficient for the completion of any business, it was adjourned to the next. But an assembly was sometimes broken up, if any one, whether a magistrate or a private individual, declared that he saw an unfavorable omen, or perceived thunder and lightning. The sudden appearance of rain also, or the shock of an earthquake, or any natural phænomenon of the kind called *διοσημίαι*, was a sufficient reason for the hasty adjournment of an assembly.[5]

6. *Subjects of Deliberation.*

We have already stated in general terms that all matters of public and national interest, whether foreign or domestic, were de-

[1] *Dem. c. Timocr.*, 715, 719. [2] *Thucyd.*, vii., 72.
[3] *Aristoph., Acharn.*, 173. [4] *Id.*, 20. [5] *Aristoph., Nub.*, 579; *Thucyd.*, v., 46.

termined upon by the people in their assemblies. We will now state in detail what some of these matters were:[1] 1. In the *first* assembly of every prytany, which was called κυρία, the ἐπιχειροτονία of the magistrates was held, *i. e.*, an inquisition into their conduct, which, if it proved unfavorable, was followed by their deposition. 2. In the same assembly, the εἰσαγγελίαι, or extraordinary informations, were laid before the people, as well as all matters relating to the watch and ward of the country of Attica. 3. The regular officers also read over the lists of confiscated property, and the names of those who had entered upon inheritances. 4. The *second* assembly of every prytany was devoted to the hearing of those who appeared before the people as suppliants for some favor, or for the privilege of addressing the assembly without incurring a penalty, to which they would otherwise have been liable, or for indemnity previous to giving information about any crime in which they had been accomplices. In all these cases it was necessary to obtain an ἄδεια, *i. e.*, a special permission of immunity. 5. In the *third* assembly, ambassadors from foreign states were received. 6. In the *fourth*, religious and other public matters of the state were discussed.

7. *Judicial Authority of the Assembly.*

I. In cases which required an extraordinary trial, the people sometimes acted in a judicial capacity, although they usually referred such matters to the court of the Heliæa. There were, however, other cases in which they exercised a judicial power: thus, for instance, the proedri could ex officio prosecute an individual before the people for misconduct in the assembly.[2] Again, on some occasions, information (μήνυσις) was simply laid before the people in assembly, without the informant making a regular impeachment; and, although the final determination in cases of this sort was *generally* referred to a court of law, still there seems no reason to doubt that the people might have taken cognizance of them in assembly, and decided upon them as judges, just as they did in some instances of heinous and notorious crimes, even when no one came forward with an accusation.

II. Moreover, in turbulent and excited times, if any one had incurred the displeasure of the people, they not unfrequently passed summary sentence upon him without any regard to the regular and established forms of proceeding: as examples of which we may mention the cases of Demosthenes and Phocion.

[1] *Poll.*, viii., 95.

[2] *Æsch. c. Timarch.*, p. 5.

8. *Legislative Authority of the Assembly.*

I. The legislative powers of the people in assembly, so far as they were defined by the enactments of Solon, were very limited; in fact, strictly speaking, no laws could, without violating the spirit of the Athenian constitution, be either repealed or enacted except by the court of the Νομοθέται.

II. It might, however, doubtless happen that ψηφίσματα passed by the assemblies had reference to general and permanent objects, and were therefore virtually νόμοι, or laws. Moreover, if we may judge by the complaints of Demosthenes, it appears that in his days the institutions of Solon had in this respect fallen into disuse, and that new laws were made by the people collectively in assembly, without the intervention of the court of the Nomothetæ.

9. *Other Powers generally.*

I. The foreign policy of the state, and all matters connected with it, and the regulation and appropriation of the taxes and revenues, were, as we might expect, determined upon by the people in assembly. The domestic economy of the state was under the same superintendence. Thus Pollux informs us that the people decided in the fourth assembly on all matters, whether spiritual or secular, in which the citizens collectively had an interest. Such, for example, says Schömann, "are the priesthood, the temples of the gods, and all other sacred things; the treasury, the public land, and public property in general; the magistracy, the courts, the laws and institutions of the state, and, in fine, the state itself."[1]

II. As regards the magistrates, we may remark that all the officers of the state were originally elected by the people; but afterward, when the power of the democracy increased, and the true principles of equality began to be misunderstood, they were chosen by lot, no elections being decided by vote except in the case of particular offices which seemed to require special qualifications or a sort of public confidence, such as certain military and financial functions, embassies, &c. The meetings called for the purpose of electing magistrates were termed ἀρχαιρεσίαι.

[1] *Schömann*, p. 298.

Oct. 1. 1852.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SENATE OR COUNCIL (*βουλή*).

1. *Institution.*

I. THE first institution of the senate is generally attributed to Solon. There are, however, strong reasons for supposing that he merely modified the constitution of a body which he found already existing. Be this, however, as it may, it is admitted that Solon made the number of his *βουλή* four hundred, taking the members from the three first classes, one hundred from each of the four tribes. On the tribes being remodelled by Clisthenes (B.C. 510), and raised to ten in number, the senate also was increased to five hundred, fifty being taken from each of the ten tribes.

II. The senators (*βουλευταί*) were at first, as is supposed, *elected* to their office; after the time of Solon, however, they were chosen by lot, and as beans (*κύαμοι*) were used in drawing the lots, we have the well-known expression employed in designating them, *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυάμου βουλευταί*.[1] The individuals thus appointed were required to submit to a scrutiny, or *δοκιμασία*, in which they gave evidence of being genuine citizens (*γνήσιοι ἐξ ἀμφοῖν*), of never having lost their civic rights by *ἀτιμία*, and also of being above thirty years of age.

III. The senators remained in office for a year, receiving a drachma (*μισθὸς βουλευτικός*) for each day on which they sat. Independently of the general account, or *εὐθῦναι*, which the whole body had to give at the end of the year, any single member was liable to expulsion for misconduct by his colleagues.[2]

IV. The privileges of a senator were exemption from military service during his year of office, and a particular place in the theatre (*τόπος βουλευτικός*). Their badge was a myrtle chaplet, which they wore at the meetings of the senate. If they discharged their duties faithfully, the people generally awarded a golden chaplet to the whole college at the end of their year of office.

2. *Duties of the Senate as a Body, &c.*

I. The chief object of Solon in forming the senate was to control the democratical powers of the state. For this purpose he ordained that the senate should discuss and vote upon all matters before they

[1] *Thucyd.*, viii., 69.

[2] *Æsch. c. Timarch.*, p. 15, 43, *ed. Steph.*

were submitted to the assembly, so that nothing could be laid before the people on which the senate had not come to a previous decision. This decision, or bill, was called *Probouleuma* (*προβούλευμα*), and if the assembly had been obliged either to acquiesce in any such proposition, or to gain the consent of the senate to their modification of it, the assembly and the senate would then have been almost equal powers in the state.

II. But besides the option of adopting or rejecting a *προβούλευμα*, or *ψήφισμα* as it was sometimes called, the people possessed and exercised the power of coming to a decision completely different from the will of the senate, as expressed in the *προβούλευμα*. Thus, in matters relating to peace and war, and confederacies, it was the duty of the senators to watch over the interests of the state, and they could initiate whatever measures, and come to whatever resolutions they might think proper; but on a discussion before the people, it was competent for any individual to move a different or even contrary proposition.

III. In addition to the bills which it was the duty of the senate to propose of their own accord, there were others of a different character, namely, such as any private individual might wish to have submitted to the people. To accomplish this, it was first necessary for the party to obtain by petition the privilege of access to the senate, and leave to propose his motion; and if the measure met with their approbation, he could then submit it to the assembly.[1] Of this nature was the proposal of Ctesiphon for crowning Demosthenes.

IV. In the assembly the bill of the senate was first read, perhaps by the crier, after the introductory ceremonies were over; and then the proedri put the question to the people, whether they approved of it, or wished to give the subject farther deliberation. The people declared their will by a show of hands (*χειροτονία*). If the *προβούλευμα* of the senate were rejected by the people, it was, of course, null and void. If it happened that it was neither confirmed nor rejected, it was *ἐπέτειον*, that is, only remained in force during the year the senate was in office.[2] If it was confirmed, it became a *psephisma*, or decree of the people, binding upon all classes.

V. The form for drawing up such decrees varied, as already remarked, in different ages. Before the archonship of Euclides (B.C. 403), they were generally headed by the formula *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*: then the tribe was mentioned in whose prytany the decree was passed; then the names of the *γραμματεύς* or scribe, and

[1] *Dem. c. Timocr.*, p. 715. [2] *Dem. c. Aris.*, p. 651.

chairman; and, lastly, that of the author of the resolution. Thus, Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δημῷ, Αἰαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευε, Κλεογένης ἐγραμμάτευε, Βοηθὸς ἐπεστάτει, τάδε Δημόφανος συνέγραψεν.[1] From the archonship of Euclides, however, till about B.C. 325, the decree commences with the name of the archon; then comes the day of the month, the tribe in office, and, lastly, the name of the proposer. The motive for passing the decree is next stated; and then follows the decree itself, prefaced with the formula δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. After B.C. 325 another form was used, which continued unaltered to the latest times.

VI. Mention has just been made of the γραμματεύς, whose name was affixed to the ψηφίσματα, as in the example given above. He was a clerk chosen by lot by the senate, in every prytany, for the purpose of keeping the records and resolutions passed during that period. He was called the clerk according to the prytany (ὁ κατὰ πρυτανείαν), and the name of the clerk of the first prytany was sometimes used to designate the year.[2]

VII. The arrangement for presiding in the senate, and an account of the prytanes and proedri, have already been given by us under the head of the assemblies of the people.

3. *Power of the Senate.*

I. With respect to the power of the senate, it must be clearly understood that, except in cases of small importance, they had only the right of originating, not of finally deciding on public questions. Since, however, the senators were convened by the prytanes every day, except on festivals or ἀφετοὶ ἡμέραι,[3] it is obvious that they would be fit recipients of any intelligence affecting the interests of the state, and it is admitted that they had the right of proposing any measure to meet the emergency; for example, we find that Demosthenes gives them an account of the conduct of Æschines and himself, when sent out as ambassadors to Philip, in consequence of which they propose a bill to the people. Again, when Philip seized on Elatēa (B.C. 338), the senate was immediately called together by the prytanes to determine what was best to be done.[4]

II. Sometimes also the senate was empowered to act in conjunction with the nomothetæ, as on the revision of the laws after the expulsion of the Thirty by Thrasybulus and his party, B.C. 403.[5] Moreover, it was the province of the senate to receive εἰσαγγελίαι,

[1] Compare *Thucyd.*, iv., 118.
[2] *Pollux*, viii., 98; *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 186, ed. 2.
[3] *Pollux*, viii., 95.
[4] *Dem., de Cor.*, p. 284.
[5] *Andoc., de Myst.*, p. 12; *Dem. c. Timocr.*, p. 708.

or informations of extraordinary crimes committed against the state, and for which there was no special law provided. The senate in such cases either decided themselves, or referred the case to one of the courts of the Heliæa, especially if they thought it required a higher penalty than it was competent for them to impose, namely, five hundred drachmæ. It was also their duty to decide on the qualifications of magistrates, and the character of members of their own body.

III. But, besides the duties we have enumerated, the senate discharged important functions in cases of finance. All legislative authority, indeed, in such matters, rested with the people, the amount of expenditure and the sources of revenue being determined by the decrees which they passed; but the administration was intrusted to the senate, as the executive power of the state, and responsible to the people. The letting of the duties (*τελῶναι*) was also under its superintendence, and those who were in possession of any sacred or public moneys (*ἱερα καὶ ὁσια*) were bound to pay them into the senate-house; and in default of payment, the senate had the power of enforcing it, in conformity with the laws for the farming of the duties (*οἱ τελωνικοὶ νόμοι*).

IV. The senate arranged also the application of the public money, even in trifling matters, such as the salary of the poets; the superintendence of the cavalry maintained by the state, and the examination of the infirm (*ἀδύνατοι*) supported by the state, are particularly mentioned among its duties; the public debts were also paid under its direction. From this enumeration we are justified in inferring that all questions of finance were confided to its supreme regulation.[1]

V. Another very important duty of the senators was to take care that a certain number of triremes was built every year, for which purpose they were supplied with money by the state: in default of so doing, they were not allowed to claim the honor of wearing a crown or chaplet at the expiration of their year of office.[2]

4. *Place of Meeting, &c.*

I. The meetings of the senate were, as we learn from various passages of the Attic orators, open to strangers.[3] Nay, private individuals were sometimes, by a special decree, authorized to come forward and give advice to the senate.

II. The senate-house was called *τὸ βουλευτήριον*, and contained

[1] *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 154, ed. 2.
[2] *Arg. Orat. c. Androt.*
[3] *Demosth., de Fals. Leg.*, p. 346; *Æsch. c. Ctes.*, p. 71, 20.

two chapels, one of Ζεὺς βουλαῖος, another of Ἀθηνᾶ βουλαία, in which it was customary for the senators to offer up certain prayers before proceeding to business.

III. The Prytanes also had a building to hold their meetings in, where they were entertained at the public expense during their prytany, their duties requiring them to be where the citizens might find them at any hour of the day. This was called the *Prytanēum* (πρυτανεῖον), and here the city of Athens exercised the duties of hospitality not only to their own citizens, but to strangers also. Thus foreign ambassadors were entertained here, as well as Athenian envoys on their return home from a successful or well-conducted mission. Here, too, were entertained, from day to day, those citizens who, whether from personal or ancestral services to the state, were honored with what was called the σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ, or the privilege of taking their meals there at the public cost. This was granted sometimes for a limited period, sometimes for life, in which latter case the parties enjoying it were called ἀείσιτοι. The custom of conferring this honor on those who had been of signal service to the state, and their descendants, was of so great antiquity, that one instance of it was referred to the times of Codrus; and in the case to which we allude, the individual thus honored was a foreigner, a native of Delphi.[1]

IV. Another illustration of the uses to which the Prytaneum was dedicated is found in the case of the daughters of Aristides, who, on the death of their father, were considered as the adopted children of the state, and were married from that common home of the city, just as they would have been from their father's home had he been alive.[2]

V. Moreover, from the ever-burning fire on the altar of the city in the Prytaneum, or home of a mother state, was carried the sacred fire which was to be kept burning in the prytanea of her colonies; and if it happened that this fire was ever extinguished, the flame was rekindled from the prytaneum of the parent city.[3]

Oct. 2. 1852.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MAGISTRATES (ἀρχαί).

1. *Different Classes of Public Functionaries.*

I. The functionaries of the state were, 1. The Ἄρχοντες, *Archons*, or magistrates, properly so called, who were intrusted, after previous trial, with the administration of a certain branch of the executive

[1] *Lycurg. c. Leocr.*, p. 158. [2] *Plut., Arist.*, c. 27. [3] *Duker, ad Thucyd.*, i., 24.

government, subject to the supremacy of the law and of the popular will. They exercised also a sort of jurisdiction within their own department, subject always to the control of the ruling powers. 2. The Ἐπιμεληταί, *Epimelētæ*, who were intrusted for a definite period (generally thirty days) with the management of some particular business, such as embassies, synegoriæ, &c. 3. Ὑπηρέται, servants who discharged subordinate duties under the control of the others, and who were for the most part either slaves or freedmen.

II. The two first classes were elected either by lot, with beans (κύαμοι), in the temple of Theseus, under the superintendence of the six thesmothetæ (a portion of the nine archons), or by the votes of the people in general, or, in particular cases, of a single tribe. Generally speaking, the lot was the mode of election in the case of ἀρχαί properly so called.

2. *Proof of Qualification* (δοκιμασία).

I. Before entering on office, the newly-elected functionary was required to undergo an examination or scrutiny into his previous life and conduct, in which any person could object to him as unfit. This was the case with all, whether appointed by lot or chosen by suffrage; with the archons, the senators, the strategi, and other magistrates. The examination or *anacrĭsis* for the archonship was conducted by the senators, or in the court of the Heliæa. This scrutiny, however, was not a trial of their abilities and fitness for office, but rather an inquiry into their political competence, and into certain leading particulars of their lives, such as whether they had fulfilled the duties of piety, good citizenship, &c.

II. From the time of Aristīdes every citizen was entitled to become a candidate for any public office; no property qualifications being requisite, except for particular situations of especial trust: for example, landed property in Attica, and children begotten in lawful marriage, for the office of strategus; citizenship in the third generation (ἐκ τριγονίας) for the priesthood and archonship. The proper age, as some suppose, was after the thirtieth year. The candidate must also be free from bodily defects (ἀφελής, μὴ ἀνάπηρος).

III. It may be remarked in this connection that the *docimasia* was not confined to persons appointed to public offices; for we read of the denouncement of a scrutiny (ἐπαγγελία δοκιμασίας) against orators who spoke in the assembly while leading profligate lives, or after having committed flagitious crimes. This denouncement might be made in public by any one, with the view of compelling the party complained of to appear before a court of justice, and

give an account of his life and conduct. If found guilty, he was punished with *atimia*, and prohibited from the assemblies.

3. *Responsibility of Magistrates, &c.*

I. All public officers at Athens, especially generals, ambassadors, the archons, priests and priestesses, the secretaries of the state, the superintendents, the trierarchs, and even the senate of the Five Hundred, and the members of the Areopagus, were accountable for their conduct, and the manner in which they acquitted themselves of their official duties. The judges in the popular courts seem to have been the only authorities who were not responsible, for they were themselves the representatives of the people, and would therefore, in theory, have been responsible to themselves.[1]

II. This account, which officers had to give after the period of their office was ended, was called *εὐθύνη*, and the officers subject to it *ὑπεύθυνοι*. Every public officer had to render his account within thirty days after the expiration of his office, and as long as this duty was not fulfilled, the whole property of the ex-officer was in bondage to the state;[2] he was not allowed to travel beyond the frontiers of Attica, to consecrate any part of his property as a donarium to the gods, to make his will, or to pass from one family into another by adoption; no public honors or rewards, and no new office could be given to him.

III. If, within the stated period, an officer did not send in his account, an action called *ἀλογίου* or *ἀλογίας δίκη* was brought against him.[3] At the time when an officer submitted to the *εὐθύνη*, any citizen had the right to come forward and impeach him. Those who, after having refused to submit to the *εὐθύνη*, also disobeyed the summons to defend themselves before a court of justice, thereby forfeited their rights as citizens.[4]

IV. The officers before whom the accounts were given were called *λογισταί* or *εὔθυνοι*.[5] These two names appear to indicate two separate classes of persons. The duties of the *λογισταί* were more extensive than those of the *εὔθυνοι*, who would seem to have been merely the assessors of the former.[6] All accounts of those officers who had any thing to do with the public money, were, after the expiration of their office, first sent into the *λογισταί*, who examined them, and if any difficulty or incorrectness was discovered, or if charges were brought against an ex-officer within the period of

[1] *Aristoph., Vesp.*, 546.
[2] *Æsch. c. Ctes.*, p. 56.
[3] *Pollux*, viii., 54.
[4] *Dem. c. Mid.*, p. 542.
[5] *Aristot., Polit.*, vi., 5.
[6] *Böckh, Pub. Econ.*, ii., p. 190.

thirty days, the further inquiry devolved upon the *εὔθυνοι*, before whom the officer was obliged to appear and plead his cause.[1] If the *εὔθυνοι* found that the accounts were unsatisfactory, that the officer had embezzled part of the public money, that he had accepted bribes, or that charges brought against him were well founded, they referred the case to a court of justice, for which the *λογισταί* appointed the judges by lot, and in this court the crier proclaimed the question, who would come forward as accuser. The place where the court was held was the same as that to which ex-officers sent their accounts to be examined by the *λογισταί*, and was called *λογιστήριον*.

V. The number of the *λογισταί*, as well as that of the *εὔθυνοι*, was ten, one being taken from each tribe.[2] The *λογισταί* were appointed by the senate, and chosen by lot. Whether the *εὔθυνοι* were chosen in this same manner is uncertain. Every *εὔθυνος* had two assessors (*πάρεδροι*).

4. *The Archons.*

I. After the death of Codrus, the Athenians, in acknowledgment, it is said, of his patriotism in meeting death for his country, determined that no one should succeed him with the title of *βασιλεύς*, or king, and appointed, therefore, in place of a monarch, an *ἄρχων*, *archon*, i. e., "ruler." It seems probable, however, that it was the nobles who brought about this change, and who availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded of serving their own interests.

II. This change does not seem to have affected the nature or extent of the royal prerogative except that the office became a responsible one. It was still held for life; and Medon, the son of Codrus, was the first archon. The office continued hereditary in his family; but it would appear that within the family of the Medontidæ, the succession was determined by the choice of the nobles. The responsible character of the archonship implies that those who elected had also the power of deposing the chief magistrate. This power, however, did not satisfy the more ambitious spirits among the nobles, and they gradually but steadily advanced toward the accomplishment of their final object, namely, a complete and equal participation in the sovereignty.

III. After twelve reigns, ending with that of Alcmæon in B.C. 752, the duration of the archonship was limited to ten years. But it still continued to be held by the descendants of Medon until, through the guilt or misfortune of Hippomenes, the fourth decennial archon,

[1] *Herm., Polit. Antiq.*, § 154, 8. [2] *Phot., s. v. εὔθυνος.*

they were deprived of the privilege. This change was soon followed by one of much greater importance, for in B.C. 682 the term of the archonship was reduced to a single year, and, at the same time, the various powers which had hitherto been possessed by one were distributed among nine new magistrates.

IV. The first of these nine, or the president of the body, was called *the* archon (ὁ ἄρχων), by way of pre-eminence, and sometimes ὁ ἐπώνυμος ἄρχων, from the year being distinguished by and registered in his name. The second was styled ὁ βασιλεύς, or the king-archon; the third, ὁ πολέμαρχος, or commander-in-chief; the remaining six were termed *Thesmothĕtæ* (οἱ θεσμοθέται), or legislators.

V. As regards the duties of the archons, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish what belonged to them individually and what collectively. It seems, however, that a considerable portion of the judicial functions of the ancient kings devolved upon the *Archon Eponўmus*, who was also constituted a sort of state protector of those who were unable to defend themselves.[1] Thus he had to superintend orphans and their estates, heiresses, families losing their representatives, widows left pregnant, and to see that they were not wronged in any way. Should any one do so, he was empowered to inflict a fine of a certain amount, or to bring the parties to trial. We must, however, bear in mind that his authority in the case of heiresses was only exercised when the party was a citizen, the polemarch having corresponding duties when the heiress was an alien. The last office of the archon eponymus was of a sacred character, namely, his superintendence of the greater Dionysia and the Thargelia, the latter celebrated in honor of Apollo and Diana.[2]

VI. The functions of the βασιλεύς, or king-archon, were almost all connected with religion. His distinguishing title shows that he was considered a representative of the old kings in their capacity of high-priest, as the *Rex Sacrificulus* was at Rome. Thus he presided at the Lenæa, or older Dionysia; superintended the mysteries, and the games called λαμπαδηφορίαι, and had to offer up sacrifices and prayers in the Eleusinium, both at Athens and Eleusis. Moreover, indictments for impiety, and controversies about the priesthood, were laid before him; and in cases of murder, he brought the trial into the court of the Areopagus, and voted with its members. His wife, also, who was called βασίλισσα or βασίλινα, had to offer certain sacrifices, and therefore it was required that she should be a citizen of pure blood, without stain or blemish. The

[1] *Dem. c. Macar.*, p. 1076.

[2] *Pollux*, viii., 89.

king-archon's court was held in what was called ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως στοά.[1]

VII. The *Polemarch* was originally, as his name denotes, the commander-in-chief,[2] and we find him discharging military duties as late as the battle of Marathon, in conjunction with the ten στρατηγοί: he then took, like the kings of old, the command of the right wing of the army. This, however, seems to be the last occasion on record of this magistrate, appointed by lot, being invested with such important functions; and in after ages we find that his duties ceased to be military, having been in a great measure transferred to the protection and superintendence of the resident aliens, so that he resembled in many respects the prætor peregrinus at Rome. Hence all actions affecting aliens were brought before him previously to trial. Moreover, it was the polemarch's duty to offer the yearly sacrifice to Diana in commemoration of the vow made by Callimachus at Marathon, and to arrange the funeral games in honor of those who fell in war.

VIII. The remaining six archons were, as already remarked, termed *Thesmothetæ*. They were extensively connected with the administration of justice, and appear to have been called θεσμοθέται, or legislators,[3] not because they made the laws, but because, in the absence of any written laws, they, by their decisions as judges, established precedents equivalent to laws in a variety of cases, which did not fall under the cognizance of their colleagues. Before the time of Solon, laws are said to have been called θεσμοί, or statutes, whereas Solon called his laws νόμοι.

IX. The *Thesmothetæ* were required to review, every year, the whole body of laws, in order that they might detect any inconsistencies or superfluities, and discover whether any laws which were abrogated were in the public records among the rest. Their report was submitted to the people, who referred the necessary alterations to a legislative committee chosen for the purpose, and called νομοθέται.

X. The chief part of the duties of the *Thesmothetæ* consisted in receiving informations, and bringing cases to trial in the courts of law, of the days of sitting in which they gave public notice.[4] They did not try them themselves, but seem to have constituted a kind of grand jury, or inquest. Thus they received informations against parties who had not paid their fines, or owed any money to the state;

[1] *Dem. c. Lacr.*, p. 940; *c. Androt.*, p. 601.
[2] *Herod.*, vi., 109, 111; *Pollux*, viii., 91.
[3] *Thirlwall*, ii., p. 17.
[4] *Pollux*, viii., 87, 88.

and in default of bringing the former parties to trial, they lost their right of going up to the Areopagus at the end of their year of office. Again, indictments for personal injuries were laid before them; informations against olive growers, for rooting up more trees than was allowed to each proprietor by law; indictments for bribing any of the courts of justice, or the senate, &c.

XI. A different office of theirs was to draw up and ratify the *σύμβολα*, or agreement with foreign states, settling the terms on which their citizens should sue or be sued by the citizens of Athens.

XII. In their collective capacity, the archons are said to have had the power of death in case an exile returned to an interdicted place. They also brought to trial those magistrates whom the people deposed, if an action or indictment were the consequence of it. Moreover, they allotted the dicasts or jurymen, and probably presided at the annual election of the strategi and other military officers.[1]

XIII. We come next to the privileges and honors of the archons. The greatest of the former was the exemption from the *trierarchies*, a boon not allowed even to the successors of Harmodius and Aristogiton. As a mark of their office, they wore a chaplet or crown of myrtle; and if any one struck or abused one of the *thesmothetæ* or the archon while wearing this badge of office, he became *ἄτιμος*, or infamous, in the fullest extent, thereby losing his civic rights. The archons, at the close of their year of service, were admitted among the members of the Areopagus.[2]

XIV. The archon eponymus being an annual magistrate at Athens, like the consul at Rome, it is manifest that a correct list of the archons is an important element in the determination of Athenian chronology. Now, from Creon (B.C. 684), the first annual archon, to Comias (B.C. 560), we have the names of about twenty-four. From B.C. 560 to the invasion of Xerxes (B.C. 480), the names and years of about twenty-four more have been determined. From B.C. 480 to 292, Diodorus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus furnish an almost unbroken succession for a period of nearly two hundred years. The names, as far as they are known, are given by Clinton in his *Fasti Hellenici*, who remarks that the compiler of the Parian marbles places the annual archons one year too high respectively. He also states[3] that the best list is that of Corsini, who, however, is surpassed by Wesseling within the period embraced by the remains of Diodorus.

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[1] *Pollux, l. c.*; *Schömann*, p. 231.

[2] *Böckh*, ii., p. 322; *Pollux*, viii., 86.

[3] *Fast. Hell.*, vol. ii., p. 12.

5. *Various Police Functionaries.*

1. THE ELEVEN (οἱ ἕνδεκα).

I. *The Eleven* were magistrates at Athens of considerable importance. They are always called by this name in the classical writers; but in the time of Demetrius Phalereus, their name is said to have been changed into that of *νομοφύλακες*. These *νομοφύλακες*, however, must not be confounded with the functionaries of the same name during the democracy, who, in conjunction with the proedri, examined all decrees proposed to be submitted to the assembly of the people, in order to see whether there was any thing contained in them injurious to the state or contrary to the existing laws. These latter have already been mentioned by us. It is but fair to remark, however, that some modern scholars deny their existence altogether, and maintain that the only *νομοφύλακες* were the *οἱ ἕνδεκα*, and that the name merely indicates their authority to prevent irregularities and disturbances in the public assemblies.

II. The Eleven were annually chosen by lot, one from each of the ten tribes, and they had a secretary (*γραμματεύς*), who must properly be regarded as their servant, or *ὑπηρέτης*, though he formed one of their number.[1]

III. The principal duty of the Eleven was the care and management of the public prison (*δεσμωτήριον*), which was entirely under their jurisdiction. The prison, however, was seldom used by the Athenians as a mere place of confinement, serving generally for punishments and executions. When a person was condemned to death, he was immediately given into the custody of the Eleven, who were then bound to carry the sentence into execution according to the laws.[2] The most common mode of execution was by the juice of a poisonous plant, commonly, though, as some think, not very correctly, supposed to be hemlock, and called in Greek *κώνειον*, which was drunk after sunset. It was in this way that Socrates and Phocion were put to death.

IV. The Eleven had under them jailers, executioners, and torturers, who were called by various names (*οἱ παραστάται, ὁ τῶν ἕνδεκα ὑπηρέτης, ὁ δημόκοινος, ὁ δημόσιος, ὁ δήμιος*, &c.). When torture was inflicted in causes affecting the state, it was either done in the immediate presence of the Eleven, or by their servant (*ὁ δήμιος*).

V. The Eleven usually had only to carry into execution the sentence passed by the courts of law and the public assemblies; but in some instances they possessed a kind of judicial power, for in-

[1] *Pollux*, viii., 102. [2] *Xen., Hell.*, ii., 3, 54.

stance, in those summary proceedings in which the penalty was fixed by law, and might be inflicted by the court on the confession or conviction of the accused, without appealing to any of the jury courts. They had a similar summary jurisdiction in the case of house-breakers, kidnappers, and other offenders of the kind; and likewise in the case of confiscated property.[1]

2. ASTYNŌMI (ἀστυνόμοι).

I. The *Astynomi* were ten in number, five for the city and five for the Piræeus. Their duty was to preserve order in the streets, to keep them clean, and to see that all buildings, both public and private, were in a safe state, and not likely to cause injury by falling down. A person was obliged to discharge this burdensome office only once in his life. Aristotle states that they had the superintendence of the scavengers (*κοπρολόγοι*), which would naturally belong to them on account of their attending to the cleansing of the streets. He likewise informs us that they had the superintendence of the female musicians.

II. It would likewise appear, from a circumstance related by Diogenes Laertius,[2] that they could prevent a person from appearing in the streets in luxurious or indecent apparel.

3. AGORANOMI (ἀγορανόμοι).

I. The Athenian *Agoranomi* were regular magistrates during the flourishing times of the republic. They were ten in number, five for the city and five for the Piræeus, and were chosen by lot, one from each tribe.[3] The principal duty of the Agoranomi was, as their name imports, to inspect the markets, and to see that all the laws respecting their regulation were properly observed. They had the inspection of all things which were sold in the market, with the exception of corn, which was subject to the jurisdiction of the *σιτοφύλακες*.

II. The Agoranomi had, in fact, chiefly to attend to retail trade (*καπηλεία*). Wholesale trade was not much carried on in the market-place, and was under the jurisdiction of the *ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου*. They regulated the price and quantity of all things which were brought into the market, and punished all persons convicted of cheating, especially by false weights and measures. They had, in general, the power of punishing all infractions of the laws and regulations relating to the market, by inflicting a fine upon the citizens,

[1] *Etymol. Mag.*, p. 338, 35.
[2] *Diog. Laert.*, vi., 90.
[3] *Dem. c. Timocr.*, p. 735.

and personal chastisement upon foreigners and slaves, for which purpose they usually carried a whip. They had the care, moreover, of all the temples and fountains in the market-place, and received the tax (*ξενικὸν τέλος*) which foreigners and aliens were obliged to pay for the privilege of exposing their goods for sale in the market.[1]

4. SITOPHYLĂCES (*σιτοφύλακες*).

I. The *Sitophylaces* were a board of officers, chosen by lot. They were at first three in number, but were afterward increased to fifteen, of whom ten were for the city, and five for the Piræus. Their business was partly to watch the arrival of the corn-ships, take account of the quantity imported, and see that the import laws were duly observed; partly to watch the sale of corn in the market, and take care that the prices were fair and reasonable, and that none but legal weights and measures were used by the factors, in which respect their duties were much the same as those of the Agoranomi and Metronomi (to be presently mentioned) with regard to other saleable articles.

II. Demosthenes refers to the entry in the books of the *Sitophylaces* to prove the quantity of corn imported from Pontus. These books were probably kept by the five who acted for the Piræus, whose especial business it would be to inspect the cargoes that were unladen.[2]

5. METRONŌMI (*μετρονόμοι*).

I. The *Metronomi* were also chosen by lot. Their number is stated differently. Some say that there were fifteen (ten for the Piræus and five for the city); some say twenty-four (fifteen for the Piræus and nine for the city); while others state that there were only ten (five for the Piræus and five for the city).[3] It seems very probable that the number of these officers was greater in the port-town than in the city, for there must have been more business for them in the Piræus than at Athens.

II. The duties of the *Metronomi* were to watch that the weights and measures used by tradesmen and merchants should have the size and weight prescribed by law, and either to punish offenders or to receive complaints against them, for the real nature of the jurisdiction of the Metronomi is not known.

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[1] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Acharn.*, 689.

[2] *Harpocr., s. v.; Böckh, Pub. Econ.*, vol. i., p. 83.

[3] *Harpocr., s. v.*

6. Ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου.

I. These were overseers of the emporium, or place for wholesale trade in commodities carried by sea. They were ten in number, and were elected yearly by lot. They had the entire management of the emporium, and had jurisdiction in all branches of the commercial laws.

II. According to Aristotle, it was part of their duty to compel the merchants to bring into the city two thirds of the corn which had been brought by sea into the Attic emporium, by which we learn that only one third could be carried away to other countries from the port of the Piræeus.[1]

6. *Extraordinary Functionaries.*

1. Σύνδικοι.

I. The term *σύνδικος*, "an advocate," is frequently used as synonymous with *συνήγορος*, to denote any one who pleads the cause of another, whether in a court of justice or elsewhere. At Athens, however, the name of *σύνδικοι* appears to have been peculiarly applied to those orators who were sent by the state to plead the cause of their countrymen before a foreign tribunal. These extraordinary advocates are not to be confounded with the *Pylagoræ*, or ordinary Amphictionic deputies.[2]

II. There were also other *σύνδικοι*, and these belong more correctly than the former to the present head, who acted rather as magistrates and judges than advocates, though they probably derived their name from the circumstance of their being appointed to protect the interests of the state. These were extraordinary functionaries, created from time to time, to exercise a jurisdiction in disputes concerning confiscated property; as when, for instance, an information was laid against a man for having in his possession the goods of a criminal who had been condemned, or goods which were liable to be seized in execution on behalf of the state; or when, the goods of a convict having been confiscated, a claim was made by a creditor having a lien thereupon, to have his debt satisfied out of the proceeds.[3]

2. Ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων.

I. These were the inspectors of the dock-yards, and, though ranked here under the head of extraordinary functionaries, as is usually

[1] *Meier, Att. Proc.*, p. 86.
[2] *Schömann, de Comit.*, p. 321.
[3] *Harpocr.*, *s. v.* ἐνεπίσκημμα.

done, seem rather to have formed a regular *ἀρχή*.[1] Their office was yearly, and they were ten in number. They were elected by lot from those persons who possessed a knowledge of shipping.

II. The principal duty of these inspectors was to take care of the ships, and all the rigging, tools, &c., belonging to them. They had also to see that the ships were seaworthy; and for this purpose they availed themselves of the services of a *δοκιμαστής*, who was well skilled in such matters.[2] They had also to make out a list of all those persons who owed any thing to the docks. We also find that they sold the rigging, &c., of the ships, and purchased new, under the direction of the senate, but not on their own responsibility. To assist them in discharging their duties, they had a secretary (*γραμματεύς*) and a public servant (*δημόσιος ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις*).[3]

3. SOPHRONISTÆ (*σωφρονισταί*).

I. The office of the *Sophronistæ* was one of very great importance in an educational point of view. Their province was to inspire the youths with a love of *σωφροσύνη*, and to protect this virtue against all injurious influences. In early times their number was ten, one from every tribe, with a salary of one drachma per day.[4]

II. Their duty not only required them to be present at all the games of the ephebi, but to watch and correct their conduct wherever they might meet them, both within and without the gymnasium. At the time of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, only six *Sophronistæ*, assisted by as many *Hyposophronistæ*, are mentioned.

4. THEŌRI (*θεωροί*).

I. We may mention lastly under the head of extraordinary functionaries, the *Theori*, who were certain citizens at Athens appointed from time to time to conduct religious embassies to various places. Of these the most important were the Theori who were sent to the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games; those that were sent to consult the god at Delphi, and those that led the solemn procession to Delos, where the Athenians established a quadriennial festival, in revival of the ancient Ionian one, of which Homer speaks.[5]

II. The expense of these embassies was defrayed partly by the state and partly by wealthy citizens, to whom the management of them was intrusted, called *ἀρχιθέωροι*, or chiefs of the embassy. This was a sort of *λειτουργία*, and frequently a very costly one, as

[1] *Dem. c. Euerg. et Mnes.*, p. 1145.
[2] *Böckh, Urkunden*, No. ii., 56.
[3] *Böckh, Ib.*, No. xvi., b. 135.
[4] *Etymol. Mag., s. v.*
[5] *Thucyd.*, iii., 104.

the chief conductor represented the state, and was expected to appear with a suitable degree of splendor; for instance, to wear a golden crown, to drive into the city with a handsome chariot, retinue, &c.

7. *Public Officials.*

1. Γραμματεῖς (CLERKS OR SCRIBES).

I. Among the great number of scribes employed by the magistrates and government of Athens, there were three of higher rank, who were real state officers.[1] One of them was appointed by lot, by the senate, to serve the time of the administration of each prytany, though he always belonged to a different prytany from that which was in power. He was therefore called *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν*.[2] His province was to keep the public records, and the decrees of the people which were made during the time of his office, and to deliver to the Thesmothetæ the decrees of the senate.[3] Previous to the archonship of Euclides, the name of this scribe was attached to the beginning of every decree of the people;[4] and the name of the *γραμματεύς* who officiated during the administration of the first prytany in a year was, like that of the archon eponymus, used to designate the year.

II. The second *γραμματεύς* of the three just referred to was elected by the senate by *χειροτονία*, and was intrusted with the custody of the laws.[5] His usual title was *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς*, but in inscriptions he is also called *γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν*.[6] A third *γραμματεύς* was also called *γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως*. He was appointed by the people, by *χειροτονία*, and the principal part of his office was to read any law or documents which were required to be read in the assembly or the senate.

III. A class of scribes inferior to these were those persons who were appointed clerks to the several civil or military officers of the state, or who served any of the three *γραμματεῖς* mentioned above, as under-clerks (*ὑπογραμματεῖς*).[7] These persons were either public slaves or citizens of the lower orders, as appears from the manner in which Demosthenes speaks of them, and were not allowed to hold their office for two succeeding years.

IV. Different from these common clerks were the *ἀντιγραφεῖς*, checking clerks, or counter-scribes, who must likewise be divided

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1 *Suidas, s. v.*
2 *Dem. c. Timocr.*, p. 720.
3 *Demosth., l. c.*
4 *Schömann, Ath. Assemb.*, p. 132.
5 *Pollux*, viii., 98.
6 *Böckh, Pub. Econ.*, p. 187, *2d edit.*
7 *Dem., de Fals. Leg.*, p. 419; *de Coron.*, p. 314.

into two classes, a lower and a higher one. The former comprised those who accompanied the generals and cashiers of the armies,[1] who kept the control of the expenditure of the sacred money, &c. The higher class of *ἀντιγραφεῖς*, on the other hand, were public officers. Their number was only two, the *ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς διοικήσεως*, and the *ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς βουλῆς*. The office of the former was to control the expenditure of the public treasury; the latter was always present at the meetings of the senate, and recorded the accounts of money paid into the senate. He had also to lay the accounts of the public revenue before the people in every prytany, so that he was a check upon the *ἀποδέκται*, or receivers of taxes. He was at first elected by the people by *χειροτονία*, but was afterward appointed by lot.

V. The great number of clerks and counter-clerks at Athens was a necessary consequence of the institution of the *εὐθύνη*, which could not otherwise have been carried into effect.

2. DEMOSII (δημόσιοι).

I. The *Demosii* were public slaves at Athens, who were purchased by the state. Some of them filled subordinate places in the assembly and courts of justice, and were also employed as criers, checking clerks, &c. They were usually called *δημόσιοι οἰκέται*, and, as we learn from Ulpian,[2] were taught at the expense of the state to qualify themselves for the discharge of such duties as have just been mentioned. As these public slaves did not belong to any one individual, they appear to have possessed certain legal rights which private slaves had not.[3]

II. Another class of public slaves (previously mentioned, but properly belonging to this head) formed the city guard. It was their duty to preserve order in the public assembly, and to remove any person whom the prytanes might order.[4] They are generally called *bowmen* or *archers* (*τοξόται*), or, from the native country of the majority, *Scythians* (*Σκύθαι*), and also Speusinians, from the name of the person who first established the force.[5] There were also among them many Thracians and other barbarians. They originally lived in tents in the market-place, and afterward on the Areopagus. Their officers had the name of *toxarchs* (*τόξαρχοι*). Their number was at first three hundred, purchased soon after the battle of Salamis, but was subsequently increased to twelve hundred.[6]

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[1] *Dem., de Cherson.*, p. 101.
[2] *Ulp., ad Dem., Olynth.*, ii., p. 15.
[3] *Meier, Att. Proc.*, p. 401, 560.
[4] *Schneider, ad Xen., Mem.*, iii., 6, 1.
[5] *Pollux*, viii., 131, 132.
[6] *Æschin., περὶ παραπρεσβ.*, p. 335; *Andoc., de Pac.*, p. 93.

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CHAPTER XV.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

(A.) ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

1. Sources of our information relative to Attic Jurisprudence.

Of the ancient Attic jurisprudence before the times of Solon and Clisthenes, scarcely any thing is known. The whole system of Solon's legislation was based on the enlargement of a ground-plan which already existed, and, in process of time, became more and more developed through the practical working of the laws; for that theory had little influence is evident from the fact that, in the whole range of Grecian literature, not a single jurist, properly so called, is to be found. Our principal sources of information on this subject are the writings of the orators and the later grammarians.

2. Laws relating to Private Persons.

1. MARRIAGE.

I. By the Athenian laws a citizen was not allowed to marry with a foreign woman, nor conversely, under very severe penalties. But proximity by blood (*ἀγχιστεία*), or consanguinity (*συγγενεία*), was not, with some few exceptions, a bar to marriage in any part of Greece; direct lineal descent, however, was. Thus brothers and sisters by the same mother were, of course, not allowed to intermarry; but if not *ὁμομήτριοι*, they were, as in the case of Cimon and Elpinice, though a connection of this sort appears, nevertheless, to have been looked on with abhorrence.[1]

II. In the earlier periods of society, indeed, we can easily conceive that a spirit of caste or family pride, and other causes, such as the difficulties in the way of social intercourse, would tend to make marriages frequent among near relations and connections. At Athens, however, in the case of a father dying intestate and without male children, his heiress (*ἐπίκληρος*) had no choice in marriage; she was compelled by law to marry her nearest kinsman not in the ascending line; and if the heiress were poor (*θῆσσα*), the nearest unmarried kinsman either married her, or portioned her suitably to her rank.

III. When there were several co-heiresses, they were respectively

[1] *Becker, Charicles*, vol. ii., p. 448.

married to their kinsmen, the nearest having the first choice. The heiress, in fact, together with her inheritance, seems to have belonged to the kinsmen of the family,[1] so that, in early times, a father could not give his daughter (if an heiress) in marriage without her consent. But this was not the case according to the later Athenian law, by which a father was empowered to dispose of his daughter by will or otherwise; just as widows were disposed of in marriage by the will of their husbands, who were considered their rightful guardians.[2]

IV. It was required that every marriage should be preceded by a betrothal (*ἐγγύησις*). This, in fact, was indispensable to the complete validity of a marriage contract. It was made by the natural or legal guardian (*ὁ κύριος*) of the bride elect, and attended by the relatives of both parties as witnesses. The law of Athens ordained that all children born from a marriage legally contracted in this respect should be *γνήσιοι*,[3] or legitimate, and consequently, if sons, *ἰσόμοιροι*, or entitled to inherit equally. It would seem, therefore, that the issue of a marriage without espousals would lose their heritable rights, which depended on their being born *ἐξ ἀστῆς καὶ ἐγγυητῆς γυναικός*, i. e., from a citizen and a legally-betrothed wife. The wife's dowry was also settled at the espousals.[4]

V. The particular ceremonies connected with marriage will be treated of in a subsequent part of the present work.

2. PARENTAL AUTHORITY—REPUDIATION.

I. The authority of the father and its consequent privileges were dependent upon the full legality of the marriage, in virtue of which the son's name was enrolled in the register of his father's phratria at the festival of the Apaturia. The father had the right of exposing his children, and it would appear that he did not declare until the festival of the *ἀμφιδρόμια*, when the babe was carried around the hearth of the house,[5] and which took place on the fifth day, or, according to some, on the seventh, whether the child should be brought up or exposed.[6]

II. A father might also dissolve the connection between himself and his son by what was termed *ἀποκήρυξις*. As, however, this is not mentioned by any of the orators or the older writers, it could rarely have taken place. According to the author of the declamation on the subject (Ἀποκηρυττόμενος), which has generally been at-

[1] *Müller, Dorians*, ii., 10, 4.
[2] *Demosth. c. Aphob.*, p. 814.
[3] *Demosth. c. Steph.*, p. 1134.
[4] *Meier u. Schömann*, p. 415.
[5] *Plat., Theæt.*, 160.
[6] *Becker, Charicles*, p. 179, *trans.*

tributed to Lucian, substantial reasons were required to insure the ratification of such extraordinary severity. Those suggested in the treatise referred to are, deficiency in filial attention, riotous living, and profligacy generally. A subsequent act of pardon might annul this solemn rejection; but, if it were not so avoided, the son was denied by his father while alive, and disinherited afterward.

III. The authority of a father over his son did not last as long as the *patria potestas* of the Romans, but ended with the age of twenty, when the young men were admitted to share all the rights and duties of a citizen, for which the law did not prescribe a more advanced age. The son, however, was always required to support his aged parents.

3. ADOPTION.

I. *Adoption* was called by the Athenians εἰσποίησις, or sometimes simply ποίησις or θέσις. The adoptive father was said ποιεῖσθαι, εἰσποιεῖσθαι, or sometimes ποιεῖν, and the father or mother (for a mother after the death of her husband could consent to her son's being adopted) was said ἐκποιεῖν. The son, when adopted, was called ποιητός, εἰσποιητός, or θετός, in opposition to the legitimate son born of the body of the father, who was called γνήσιος.

II. A man might adopt a son either in his lifetime or by his will, provided he had no male offspring and was of sound mind. He might also, by will, name a person to take his property, in case his son or sons should be under age.[1] If, however, he had male offspring, he could not dispose of his property. This rule of law was closely connected with the rule as to adoption; for if he could have adopted a son when he had male children, such son would have shared his property with the rest of his male children, and to that extent the father would have exercised a power of disposition which the law denied him.

III. Only Athenian citizens could be adopted; but females could be adopted (by will at least) as well as males.[2] The adopted child was transferred from his own family and demus into those of the adoptive father. It was not necessary for him to take his new father's name, but he was registered as his son. The adopted son might return to his former family in case he left a child to represent the family of his adoptive father. Unless he so returned, he lost all right which he might have had on his father's side if he had not been adopted, but he retained all rights which he might have on his mother's side; for the act of adoption had no effect so far as concerned the mother

[1] *Demosth. c. Steph.*, p. 13.

[2] *Isæus, de Hagn. hered.*, § 2.

of the adopted person; she still continued his mother after the act of adoption.

IV. To protect the rights of the next of kin against unjust claims by persons who alleged themselves to be adopted sons, it was required that the father should enter his son, whether born of his body or adopted, in the register of his phratria at a certain time, the Thargelia, with the privity of his kinsmen and phratores. Subsequently to this, it was necessary to enter him in the register of the adoptive father's demus (*ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*), without which registration it appears that he did not possess the full rights of citizenship as a member of his new demus.[1]

V. If the adoption was by will, registration was also required, which we may presume the person himself might procure to be done, if he was of age, or, if not, his guardian or next friend. If a dispute arose as to the property of the deceased between the son adopted by will and the next of kin, there could properly be no registration of the adopted son until the will was established. If a man died childless and intestate, his next of kin, according to the Athenian rules of succession, took his property.[2] Though registration might in this case also be required, there was no adoption, properly so called, for the next of kin necessarily belonged to the family of the intestate.

4. GUARDIANSHIP.

I. Of guardians of orphan children there were at Athens three kinds: first, those appointed in the will of the deceased father; secondly, the next of kin, whom the law designated as lawful guardians in default of such appointment, and who required the authorization of the archon to enable them to act; and, lastly, such persons as the archon selected, if there were no next of kin living to undertake the office.

II. The duties of the guardian comprehended the education, maintenance, and protection of the ward, the assertion of his rights, and the safe custody and profitable disposition of his inheritance during his minority, besides making a proper provision for the widow if she remained in the house of her late husband. In accordance with these, the guardian was bound to appear in court in all actions in behalf of or against his ward, and to give an account of the taxable capital (*τίμημα*) when an *εἰσφορά*, or extraordinary tax (the only impost to which orphans were liable), was levied, and make the proportionate payment in the minor's name.

[1] *Isæus, de Apollod. hered.*, § 3. [2] *Demosth. c. Leoch.*, p. 6.

III. To insure the performance of these duties, the law permitted any free citizen to institute a public action.[1] The guardianship expired when the ward had attained his eighteenth year. In case the guardian's accounts were unsatisfactory, the heir might institute an action against him. This, however, was a mere private lawsuit, in which the damages only could be lost by the defendant, and the action, moreover, was barred by the lapse of five years from the termination of the guardianship.

5. RIGHT OF INHERITANCE.

I. None but children begotten in regular marriage were entitled to the property of their parents; consequently, *νόθοι* were excluded from this privilege. When an Athenian died leaving sons, they shared the inheritance.[2] The only advantage possessed by the eldest son was the first choice in the division.[3] If there was but one son, he took the whole estate; but if he had sisters, it was incumbent on him to provide for them, and give them suitable marriage portions. There was no positive law making it imperative on a brother to give his sister a portion of a certain amount, but the moral obligation to assign her a fortune corresponding to his own rank was strengthened by custom and public opinion, insomuch that if she were given in marriage portionless, it was deemed a slur upon her character, and might even raise a doubt of her legitimacy.[4]

II. On failure of sons and their issue, daughters and daughters' children succeeded, and there seems to have been no limit to the succession in the descending line.[5] On failure of lineal descendants, the collateral branches were resorted to. And first came the issue of the same father with the deceased, namely, brothers and brother's children, the children of a deceased brother taking the share of their father; and after them sisters and sisters' children, among whom the principle of representation also prevailed. Next came the descendants of the same grandfather with the deceased; cousins and cousins' children. Here the law declared that males and the issue of males should be preferred to females and their issue. On failure of first cousins and their issue, the inheritance went to the half-blood by the mother's side; brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces, cousins and their children, as before. But if there were no maternal kinsmen within the legal degree, it returned to

[1] *Meier, Att. Proc.*, p. 294.
[2] *Isæus, de Philoct. hered.*, § 32.
[3] *Dem. pro Phorm.*, p. 947.
[4] *Isæus, de Pyrrh. hered.*, § 40; *Lys., de Arist. bon.*, § 16, *ed. Bekk.*
[5] *Isæus, de Cir. hered.*, § 39, *seqq.*; *de Pyrrh. hered.*, § 59; *de Philoct.*, § 38, *seqq.*

the *agnati*, or next of kin on the paternal side, whose proximity was traced by counting the degrees from the common ancestor.[1]

III. The succession of parents to their children is matter of dispute among the learned. From the silence, however, of the orators, the absence of any example, and the express declaration of Isæus[2] respecting the mother, it may be inferred that parents could not inherit at Athens.

IV. At Athens the maxim *hereditas nunquam ascendit* held only of lineal, not of collateral ascent. For example, an uncle might inherit. So, also, he might marry the heiress as next of kin.

6. RIGHT OF DEVISING.

I. Every man of full age and sound mind, not under durance or improper influence, was competent to make a will. But if he had a son, he could not disinherit him; although his will might take effect on the contingency of his son's not completing his seventeenth year.[3]

II. The bulk of the estate being left to the son, legacies might be given to friends and relations, especially to those who performed the office of an executor or testamentary guardian.[4] And in the division of property among sons, the recommendations of the father would be attended to. Moreover, a provision not exceeding one hundred drachmæ might be assigned to an illegitimate child.[5] A daughter could not be disinherited, though the estate might be devised to any person on condition of his marrying her.[6]

III. It was only when a man had no issue that he was at full liberty to appoint an heir. His house and heritage was then considered desolate (*ἔρημος καὶ ἀνώνυμος*), a great misfortune in the eyes of an Athenian; for every head of a family was anxious to transmit his name and religious usages to posterity. To obviate this misfortune, an Athenian had two courses open to him. Either he might bequeath his property by will, or he might adopt a son in his lifetime.

IV. Wills were in writing, and usually had one or more attesting witnesses, whose names were superscribed, but who did not know the contents. They were often deposited with friends or other trustworthy persons, such as a magistrate. It was considered a badge of fraud if they were made secretly or in the presence of

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[1] *Isæus, de Hagn. hered.*, § 1, *seqq.*; *Dem. c. Macart.*, p. 1067.
[2] *De Hagn. hered.*, § 26.
[3] *Isæus, de Arist. hered.*, § 14; *de Philoct.*, § 10.
[4] *Dem. c. Aphob.*, p. 814, 827.
[5] *Harpocr., s. v. νοθεῖα*
[6] *Isæus, de Pyrr. hered.*, § 82, *seqq.*

strangers.[1] A will was ambulatory until the death of the maker, and might be revoked, wholly or partially, by a new one. It seems, also, that there might be a parol revocation.

7. LAWS RELATING TO OBLIGATIONS AND SECURITIES.

I. The chief means of security in pecuniary transactions were written contracts (*συγγραφαί*) and oral testimony (*μαρτυρίαι*). By the code of Solon milder provisions were substituted for the old law of debt, which was very severe.

II. Any thing might form the subject of a written contract, a release (*ἄφεσις*), a settlement of disputes (*διάλυσις*), the giving up of a slave to be examined by torture—in short, any matter wherein the contracting parties thought it safer to have documentary evidence of the terms. No particular form of words was necessary to make the instrument valid in point of law, the sole object being to furnish good evidence of the parties' intention. The agreement itself was valid without any writing, and would form the ground of an action against the party who broke it, if it could be sufficiently proved. Hence it was the practice to have witnesses to a parol agreement.[2]

III. Bankers (*τραπεζῖται*) were persons of extensive credit, and had peculiar confidence reposed in them. They were often, in consequence, chosen as the depositaries of agreements and other documents. Money was put into their hands without any acknowledgment, and often without witnesses.[3]

IV. The term *συγγραφή* denotes an instrument signed by both or all the contracting parties; *χειρόγραφον* is a mere acknowledgment by one party. The phrase *συγγράψασθαι συγγραφήν* means to draw up a contract; *σημήνασθαι*, to seal it; *ἀναιρεῖν*, to cancel; *ἀνελέσθαι*, to take it up from the person with whom it was deposited, for the purpose of cancelling it, when it was no longer of any use; *ὑπανοίγειν*, to break the seal clandestinely for some fraudulent purpose, as to alter the terms of the instrument, or erase or destroy some material part, or even the whole.

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[1] *Isæus, de Philoct. hered.*, § 40; *de Cleon. hered.*, § 32.

[2] *Demosth. c. Phænipp.*, p. 1042; *c. Euerg. et Mnes.*, p. 1146.

[3] *Isocr., Trapez.*, p. 369, *ed. Steph.*; *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 128, *2d ed.*

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CHAPTER XVI.

JUDGES AND COURTS OF JUSTICE.

1. *Historical Account of the Courts of Justice.*

I. Of the most ancient Attic courts of justice we know very little. The archons inherited their judicial authority from the kings; but we find, at a very early period, mention made of the courts of the Areopagites and Ephĕtæ, the latter said to have been established by Draco, the former confirmed and extended by Solon. By Solon's constitution, the people in general were admitted to these courts: it does not seem, however, that the judicial authority of the archons was immediately superseded; the usurpation of their functions by the people, so that nothing was left to the magistrates except the presidency in the courts, having been gradually established as the power of the democracy increased.

II. The overwhelming weight of business in these courts resulted from the obscurity and deficiencies of Athenian legislation in many points of view; the love of litigation inherent in the people; their endeavors to subject the decisions of the magistrates to the revision of their courts; and, at a later period, from the arrogance which would make Athens the forum in which all the disputes of the allies were to be settled.

III. The courts of justice were those of the *Heliasts*, the *Diætētæ*, the *Forty*, the *Areopagus*, the *Ephĕtæ*, and, in earlier times, the *Nautodĭcæ*.

1. THE HELIASTS (Ἡλιασταί).

I. The *Heliasts* (Ἡλιασταί) were a body of judges, or, rather, jurymen, so called from the name of their principal court, ἡλιαία, *Heliæa*, which latter appellation is a derivative from ἁλία, an "assembly" or "gathering." They were also called δικασταί, *dicasts*. This term δικαστής, which, in its broadest acceptation, means "a judge," more particularly denotes the Attic functionary of the democratic period, who, with his colleagues, was constitutionally empowered to try and pass judgment upon all causes and questions that the laws and customs of his country pronounced susceptible of judicial investigation.

II. The *heliast* or *dicast* must be a free citizen, in the enjoyment of his full franchise, and not under thirty years of age. Of persons

thus qualified, six thousand were selected by lot for the service every year. The selection took place annually under the superintendence of the nine archons and their official scribe. Each of these ten persons drew by lot the names of six hundred persons of the tribe assigned to him. The whole number thus selected was again divided by lot into ten sections of five hundred each, together with a supernumerary one, consisting of a thousand persons, from among whom the occasional deficiencies in the sections of five hundred might be supplied. To each of the ten sections, one of the first ten letters of the alphabet was appropriated as a distinguishing mark, and a small tablet (πινάκιον), inscribed with the letter of the section and the name of the individual, was delivered as a certificate of his appointment to each dicast. The one thousand supernumeraries had likewise, in all probability, some particular token, but of this we have no certain knowledge.

III. Before proceeding to the exercise of his functions, the dicast was obliged to take the official oath, in which he made a solemn engagement to discharge his duties faithfully, and also to support the existing constitution.[1] This oath having been taken, and the divisions having been made, as above mentioned, it remained to assign the courts to the several sections of dicasts in which they were to sit. This was not, like the first, an appointment intended to last during the year, but took place under the conduct of the thesmothetæ, *de novo*, every time that it was necessary to impanel a number of dicasts.

IV. In ordinary cases, when one, two, or more sections of five hundred made up the complement of judges appropriated to trying the particular kind of cause in hand, the process was extremely simple. Two urns or caskets (κληρωτήρια) were produced, one containing tickets inscribed with the distinctive letters of the sections; the other furnished, in like manner, with similar tickets, to indicate the courts in which the sittings were to be held. If the cause was to be tried by a single action, a ticket would be drawn simultaneously from each urn, and the result announced, that section B, for instance, was to sit in court Γ. If a thousand dicasts were requisite, two tablets would in like manner be drawn from the urn that represented the sections, while one was drawn from the other, as above mentioned, and the announcement might run, that sections A and B were to sit in court Γ, and the like. A more complicated system must have been adopted when fractional parts of the section sat by themselves, or were added to other whole sections.

[1] *Dem. c. Timocr.*, p. 746.

V. As soon as the allotment had taken place, each dicast received a staff, on which was painted the letter and color of the court awarded him, which might serve both as a ticket to procure admittance, and also to distinguish him from any loiterer that might endeavor clandestinely to obtain a sitting after business had begun.

VI. The dicasts received a fee for their attendance (*τὸ δικαστικόν*, or *μισθὸς δικαστικός*). This payment is said to have been first instituted by Pericles ;[1] and it is generally supposed from Aristophanes[2] that it was at first only one obolus. According to the scholiast on another passage of the same poet,[3] the pay was subsequently increased to two oboli, but this seems to be merely an erroneous inference from the language of his author. Three oboli, or the *triobolon* (*τριώβολον*), occurs as early as B.C. 425, in the comedies of Aristophanes, and is afterward mentioned frequently. The payment was made after every assembly of a court of heliastæ in the following manner. After a citizen had been appointed by lot to act as judge in a particular court, he received, on entering the court, together with the staff, a tablet or ticket (*σύμβολον*). After the business of the court was over, the dicast, on going out, delivered his ticket to the prytanes, and received his fee in return.[4] Those who had come too late had no claim to a fee.[5]

VII. No sessions of the courts of the heliasts were held on days of public assembly, or on festivals or unlucky days. On the last three days of the month, the court of Areopagites sat, but not the heliasts.

2. THE DIÆTĒTÆ (Διαιτηταί).

I. The *Diætētæ* (Διαιτηταί) were arbitrators or umpires, and were of two kinds ; the one public and appointed by lot, the other private and chosen by the parties, who referred to them the decision of a disputed point, instead of trying it before a court of justice ; the judgments of both, according to Aristotle, being founded on equity rather than on law. We shall confine ourselves here to the public *Diætētæ*.

II. According to Suidas, the public *Diætetæ* were required to be not less than fifty years of age ; according to Pollux[6] and Hesychius, not less than sixty. Four judges (scarcely forty-four, as some suppose) were chosen yearly by lot out of each tribe, and adjudicated for the particular tribe from which they were chosen. The *Diætetæ*

[1] *Arist., Polit.*, ii., 9 ; *Plut., Per.*, 9.
[2] *Nub.*, 840.
[3] *Ran.*, 140.
[4] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Plut.*, 277.
[5] *Aristoph., Vesp.*, 660.
[6] *Pollux*, viii., 19.

of the different tribes appear to have sat in different places; as temples, halls, and courts of justice, if not wanted for other purposes.

III. These public arbitrators were *ὑπεύθυνοι*, that is, every one who had, or fancied he had a cause of complaint against them for their decisions, might proceed against them by information laid before the senate. The punishment in case of condemnation was *atimia*, or the loss of civic rights.

IV. But, besides acting as public arbitrators, the diætetæ sat as commissioners of inquiry on matters of fact, which could not be conveniently examined in a court of justice, just as what is called "an issue" is sometimes sent by a court of chancery in modern times to be tried in a common law court by a jury.

3. THE FORTY (οἱ τετταράκοντα).

I. The *Forty* were certain officers chosen by lot, who made regular circuits through the demi of Attica, whence they are called *δικασταὶ κατὰ δήμους*, to decide all cases of injuries to the person of a citizen, and also all other private causes, where the matter in dispute was not above the value of ten drachmæ. Their number was originally thirty, but was increased to forty after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants and the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus, in consequence, it is said, of the hatred of the Athenians to the number thirty.

II. They differed from other *δικασταί*, inasmuch as they acted as *εἰσαγωγεῖς*, as well as decided causes, that is, they received the accusation, drew up the indictment, and attended to all that was understood in Athenian law by the *ἡγεμονία τοῦ δικαστηρίου*. They consequently may be classed among the regular magistrates of the state.[1]

4. AREOPAGUS (ὁ Ἄρειος πάγος).

I. The court or council of the Areopagus (*ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλή*) was so called from the place where it held its sittings, namely, the Hill of Mars or Ares. Sometimes it was termed *ἡ ἄνω βουλή*, to distinguish it from the senate of Five Hundred, which sat in the Ceramicus. That it was a body of very remote antiquity, acting as a criminal tribunal, was evidently believed by the Athenians themselves. In proof of this, we may refer to the express assertions of the orators, and also to the legend of Orestes, who was tried before this council for the murder of his mother. Again, we find that even before the first Messenian war (B.C. 740), the Messenians offered

[1] *Pollux*, viii., 40; *Harpocr.*, *s. v.* κατὰ δήμους δικαστής.

to refer the points in dispute to the Argive Amphictiony or the Athenian Areopagus,[1] because this body was believed to have had jurisdiction in cases of manslaughter (*δίκας φονικάς*) "from of old."

II. There is sufficient proof, then, that the Areopagus existed before the time of Solon, though he is admitted to have so far modified its constitution and sphere of duty that he might almost be called its founder. What that original constitution was, must, in some degree, be left to conjecture, though there is every reason to suppose that it was aristocratical, the members being taken from the noble patrician families. The principal change, as we have already remarked, introduced by Solon in the constitution of Athens, was to make the qualification for office depend, not on birth, but on property; and hence, agreeably to his reforms, the nine archons, after an unexceptionable discharge of their duties, "went up" to the Areopagus, and became members of it for life, unless expelled for misconduct.[2]

III. The Areopagus, then, after the time of Solon, ceased to be aristocratic in constitution, but, as we learn from Attic writers, continued so in spirit. In fact, Solon is said to have formed the two councils, the senate and the Areopagus, to be a check upon the democracy. Nay, even after the archons were no longer elected by suffrage, but by lot, and the office was thrown open by Aristides to all Athenian citizens, the "upper council" still retained its former tone of feeling. Moreover, besides these changes in its constitution, Solon altered and extended its functions. Before his time it was only a criminal court, trying cases of willful murder and wounding, of arson and poisoning,[3] whereas he gave it extensive powers of a censorial and political nature. Thus we learn that he made the council an "overseer of every thing, and the guardian of the laws," empowering it to inquire how any one got his living, and to punish the idle.[4]

IV. The Areopagus had also duties connected with religion, one of which was to superintend the sacred olives growing about Athens, and try those who were charged with destroying them.[5] We read, too, that in the discharge of their duty as religious censors, it was incumbent upon them to punish the impious and irreligious.

V. Independent, then, of its jurisdiction as a criminal court in cases of willful murder, which Solon continued to the Areopagus, its influence must have been sufficiently great to have been a consid-

[1] *Paus.*, iv., 5, 1; *Thirlwall, Hist. Gr.*, vol. i., p. 345.
[2] *Plut., Sol.*, c. 18.
[3] *Pollux*, viii., 117; *Dem. c. Arist.*, p. 627.
[4] *Plut. Solon*, c. 22.
[5] *Lysias, περὶ τοῦ σηκοῦ*, p. 110.

erable obstacle to the aggrandizement of the democracy at the expense of the other parties in the state. Accordingly we find that Pericles, who never was an archon or Areopagite, and who was opposed to the aristocracy for many reasons, resolved to diminish its power and circumscribe its sphere of action. His coadjutor in this work was Ephialtes, a statesman of inflexible integrity, and also a military commander.[1] After much opposition, Pericles effected his object, B.C. 458, and a decree was passed, by which, as Aristotle says, the Areopagus was "mutilated," and many of its hereditary rights were abolished.[2] What the precise nature of the alterations effected by Pericles was, is a matter of much uncertainty; it is not improbable, however, that one of the changes introduced by him was to make the Areopagus, like other functionaries, accountable to the demus for their administration, as, indeed, we know they afterward were.

VI. The proceedings before the Areopagus in cases of murder were, by their solemnity and fairness, well calculated to insure just decisions. The process was as follows: The king-archon[3] brought the case into court, and sat as one of the judges, who were assembled in the open air, probably to guard against any contamination from the criminal.[4] The accuser, who was said *εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἐπισκήπτειν*, first came forward to make a solemn oath that his accusation was true, standing over the slaughtered victims, and imprecating extirpation upon himself and his whole family if it were not so. The accused then denied the charge with the same solemnity and form of oath. Each party then stated his case with all possible plainness, keeping strictly to the subject, and not being allowed to appeal in any way to the feelings or passions of the judges.[5] After the first speech, a criminal accused of murder might remove from Athens, and thus avoid the capital punishment fixed by Draco's *θεσμοί*, which on this point were still in force. Except in cases of parricide, neither the accuser nor the court had power to prevent this; but the party who thus evaded extreme punishment was not allowed to return home; and, when any decree was passed at Athens to legalize the return of exiles, an exception was always made against those who had thus left their country.[6]

VII. The reputation of the Areopagus as a criminal court was of long continuance, as we may learn from an anecdote of Aulus Gellius, who tells us that C. Dolabella, proconsul of the Roman prov-

[1] *Plut., Cim.*, 7; *Peric.*, 10, 13.
[2] *Aristot., Pol.*, ii., 9; *Cic., N. D.*, ii., 29.
[3] *Pollux*, viii., 90.
[4] *Id.*, viii., 33.
[5] *Aristot., Rhet.*, i.,
[6] *Plato, Leg.*, ix., 11.

ince of Asia, referred a case which perplexed himself and his council to the Areopagus (*ut ad judices graviores exercitatioresque*):[1] they ingeniously settled the matter by ordering the parties to appear that day one hundred years (*centesimo anno adesse*). They existed in name, indeed, till a very late period. Thus we find Cicero[2] mentions the council in his letters; and under the Emperors Gratian and Theodosius (A.D. 380), Ῥούφιος Φῆστος is called proconsul of Greece, and an Areopagite.[3]

VIII. Of the respectability and moral worth of the council, and the respect that was paid to it, we have abundant proofs in the writings of the Athenian orators, where, indeed, it would be difficult to find it mentioned except in terms of praise. Thus Lysias[4] speaks of it as most righteous and venerable; and so great was the respect paid to its members, that it was considered rude in the demus to laugh in their presence, while one of them was making an address to the assembly on a subject they had been deputed to investigate. Shortly after the age of Demetrius Phalereus, however, a change had taken place; they had lost much of their respectability, and were but ill fitted to enforce a conduct in others which they did not exhibit in themselves.

IX. The case of St. Paul[5] is generally quoted as an instance of their authority in religious matters; but the words of the sacred historian do not necessarily imply that he was brought before the council. It may, however, be remarked, that they certainly took cognizance of the introduction of new and unauthorized forms of religious worship, called ἐπίθετα ἱερά, in contradistinction to the πάτρια, or older rights of the state. There was also a tradition that Plato was deterred from mentioning the name of Moses, as a teacher of the unity of the Godhead, by his fear of the Areopagus.

X. With respect to the number of the Areopagus in its original form, a point of no great moment, there are various accounts; but it is plain that there could have been no fixed number when the archons became members of this body at the expiration of their year of office.

5. THE EPHĔTÆ (οἱ Ἐφέται).

I. The *Ephetæ* were certain judges at Athens, fifty-one in number, selected from noble families (ἀριστίνδην αἱρεθέντες), and more than fifty years of age. They formed a tribunal of great antiquity, so much so, indeed, that Pollux[6] ascribes their institution to Draco.

[1] *Aul. Gell.*, xii., 7. [2] *Ep. ad Fam.*, xiii., 1; *ad Att.*, i., 14. [3] *Meursius, Areop.*
[4] *Lys. c. Andoc.*, p. 104. [5] *Acts*, xvii., 22. [6] *Pollux*, viii., 125.

Moreover, if we can depend upon the authority of Plutarch,[1] one of Solon's laws spoke of the courts of the Ephetæ and Areopagus as co-existent before the time of that legislator.

II. We are also told by Pollux that the Ephetæ in earlier times sat in one or other of five courts, according to the nature of the causes they had to try. In historical times, however, they sat in four only, called respectively the court by the *Palladium* (*τὸ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ*), by the *Delphinium* (*τὸ ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ*), by the *Prytaneum* (*τὸ ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ*), and the court at *Phreatto* or *Zea* (*τὸ ἐπὶ Φρεαττοῖ*). At the first of these courts they tried cases of unintentional, at the second of intentional, but justifiable homicide, such as slaying another in self-defense, taking the life of an adulterer, killing a tyrant or a nightly robber.[2] At the Prytaneum, by a strange custom, somewhat analogous to the imposition of a deodand in the English law, they passed sentence upon the instrument of murder when the perpetrator of the act was not known. In the court at Phreatto, on the sea-shore at the Piræeus, they tried such persons as were charged with willful murder during a temporary exile for unintentional homicide. In cases of this sort, a defendant pleaded his cause on board ship (*τῆς γῆς μὴ ἁπτόμενος*), the judges sitting close by him on shore.[3]

III. Müller[4] conjectures that the court of the Areopagus was anciently included in the *five* courts of the Ephetæ, and that a separation was effected when the Athenian nobility lost their supremacy in the state, and a timocracy or aristocracy of wealth was substituted for an aristocracy of birth. This, as we have already remarked, happened in the time of Solon. The comparatively unimportant and antiquated duties of the Ephetæ sufficiently explain the statement in Pollux, that their court gradually lost all respect, and became at last an object of ridicule.[5]

6. THE NAUTODICÆ (Ναυτοδίκαι).

I. The *Nautodicæ* were a class of magistrates[6] who had the jurisdiction in matters belonging to navigation and commerce, and in matters concerning such persons as had entered their names as members of a phratria without both their parents being citizens of Athens. The time when *Nautodicæ* were first instituted is not mentioned, but the fact that they had the jurisdiction in cases where a person had assumed the rights of a phrator without his father and mother being citizens, shows that their institution must belong to a

1 *Solon*, c. 19. 2 *Plat., Leg.*, ix., p. 874.
3 *Dem. c. Aristocr.*, p. 644. 4 *Eumenid.*, § 65. 5 *Pollux, l. c.*
6 *Harpocr.*; *Suid.*; *Lex. Rhet.*, *s. v.* Ναυτοδίκαι.

time when a man's claim to citizenship was sufficient if only his father was a citizen, whatever his mother might be, that is, previous to the time of Pericles,[1] and perhaps as early as the time of Clisthenes.

II. The *Nautodicæ* were appointed every year by lot in the month of Gamelion (the last half of January and the first part of February). This magistracy appears to have ceased about the time of Philip of Macedon. No trace occurs of them in any of the speeches of Demosthenes.

CHAPTER XVII.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ACTIONS, &c.

I. Accusations were either public or private. Public accusations (*γραφαί*) were those in which it was set forth that the state had sustained injury either immediately or through offences committed against individuals. The line, however, between public and private wrongs does not seem to have been very strictly drawn, for in many instances the plaintiff was at liberty to prosecute either civilly or criminally; in cases of theft, for example, where the value of the property stolen exceeded fifty drachmæ, and in injuries to the person, either as a *δίκη αἰκίας* or *γραφὴ ὕβρεως*.

II. Any duly qualified citizen might bring forward a public complaint, even though he were not the party injured; the fine imposed in such cases went to the state; but if the prosecutor let the affair drop, or failed to establish his charge by the votes of at least a fifth part of the judges, he was himself fined one hundred drachmæ, and rendered forever incapable of appearing as a prosecutor in a similar action.

III. The general term for a public prosecution is *γραφή*, in contradistinction to *δίκη*, a private complaint. It had, however, various names, according to its various forms and objects. Thus, besides the *γραφή* (written information), properly so called, we have the *ἔνδειξις*, *ἀπαγωγή*, and *ἐφήγησις*, by which the magistrate authorized summary proceedings without previous notice, and the arrest of the defendant after information received, unless three sureties were found for his appearance.

IV. The following varieties of public process may here be noticed. Before the *Archon*, *γραφὴ ἀγαμίου*, against those who did not marry;[2] *γραφὴ ἐπιτροπῆς*, against a guardian for neglect or injury of the person or property of his ward;[3] *γραφὴ κακώσεως*, against children for

[1] *Plut., Pericl.*, 37. [2] *Pollux*, viii., 40. [3] *Meier, Att. Proc.*, p. 294.

ill treatment or neglect of their parents;[1] against husbands for maltreatment of their wives;[2] against the nearest relatives of poor heiresses, who neither married them themselves, nor gave them a dowry in order to marry them to persons of their rank in life. Before the *King-archon*,[3] *γραφὴ ἀσέβειας*, an impeachment for impiety; *γραφὴ φόνου*, for bloodshed, &c. Before the *Polemarch*, *γραφὴ ἀποστασίου*, brought against a freedman for default of duty to the citizen to whom he owed his freedom.[4] Before the *Thesmothetæ*, *γραφὴ ὕβρεως*, including the more serious injuries done to the person; *γραφὴ προδοσίας*, for treason or treasonable practices. Before the *Eleven*, *γραφὴ κλοπῆς*, for theft; *γραφὴ λωποδυσίας*, for stealing the clothes of bathers, &c. Before the *Strategi*, *γραφὴ ἀστρατείας*, for failing to perform military duty; *γραφὴ λειποταξίου*, for desertion.

V. Those actions, on the other hand, were denominated private which related strictly to private wrongs or disputes. Private complaints could only be brought forward by those who had sustained the injury, or who appeared for individuals who were not permitted to plead in person. In all such actions it was a rule that the mulct or damages awarded by the court should be paid to the plaintiff, and that in the event of the proceedings being declared frivolous, the defendant should receive one sixth part of the sum in dispute by way of indemnification for his loss of time and labor. This sum thus paid was called *ἐπωβελία*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

1. *In a Civil Cause, or δική.*

I. The proceedings in a *δική* were commenced by a summons to the defendant (*πρόσκλησις*) to appear on a certain day before the proper magistrate, and there answer the charges preferred against him.[5] This summons was often served by the plaintiff in person, accompanied by one or two witnesses (*κλητῆρες* or *κλήτορες*), whose names were endorsed upon the declaration (*λῆξις* or *ἔγκλημα*). The term *cletēres* or *cletōres* properly means summoners, and in the absence of the plaintiff they served the summons themselves. If there were an insufficient service of the summons, the lawsuit was styled *ἀπρόσκλητος*, and was dismissed by the magistrate.

[1] *Aristoph., Av.*, 757.
[2] *Diog. Laert.*, iv., 17.
[3] *Meier, Att. Proc.*, p. 300, *seqq.*
[4] *Id. ib.*, p. 315, *seqq.*
[5] *Aristoph., Nub.*, 1221; *Av.*, 1046.

II. There were occasions upon which a personal arrest of the party proceeded against took the place of, or, at all events, was simultaneous with the service of the summons; as, for instance, when the plaintiff doubted whether such party would not leave the country to avoid answering the action;[1] and accordingly we find that in such cases an Athenian plaintiff might compel a foreigner to accompany him to the polemarch's office, and there to produce bail for his appearance, or, failing so to do, submit to remain in custody till the trial. The word *κατεγγυᾶν* is peculiarly used of this proceeding.

III. Between the service of the summons and appearance of the parties before the magistrate, it is very probable that the law prescribed the intervention of a period of five days.[2] If both parties appeared, the proceedings commenced by the plaintiff's putting in his declaration, and, at the same time, depositing his share of the court fees (*πρυτανεῖα*), the non-payment of which was a fatal objection to the farther progress of the cause.[3] These were very trifling in amount. If the subject of litigation was rated at less than one hundred drachmæ, nothing was paid; if at more than one hundred drachmæ, and less than one thousand drachmæ, three drachmæ were a sufficient deposit, and so on in proportion. If the defendant neglected or refused to make his payment, it is natural to conclude that he underwent the penalties consequent upon non-appearance. In all cases, the successful party was reimbursed his prytaneia by the other.[4]

IV. The *παρακαταβολή* was another deposit in some cases, but paid by the plaintiff only. This was not in the nature nor of the usual amount of the court fees, but a kind of penalty, as it was forfeited by the suitor in case he failed in establishing his cause. In a suit against the treasury, it was fixed at a fifth; in that of a claim to the property of a deceased person by an alleged heir or devisee, at a tenth of the value sought to be recovered.[5] If the action was not intended to be brought before an heliastic court, but merely submitted to the arbitration of *diætetæ*, a course which the plaintiff might adopt in all private actions, the drachma paid in place of the deposit above mentioned bore the name of *παράστασις*.

V. The deposits being made, it became the duty of the magistrate, if no manifest objection appeared on the face of the declaration, to cause it to be written out on a tablet, and exposed for the inspection of the public on the wall or other place which served as the

[1] *Dem. c. Zenoth.*, p. 890.
[2] *Meier, Att. Proc.*, p. 580.
[3] *Matth., de Jud. Ath.*, p. 261.
[4] *Meier, Att. Proc.*, p. 613.
[5] *Matth., de Jud. Ath.*, p. 260.

cause-list of his court. The magistrate then appointed a day for what was termed the ἀνάκρισις, or preliminary investigation, which was done by drawing lots for the priority in case there was a plurality of cases instituted at the same time; and to this proceeding the phrase λαγχάνειν δίκην, which generally denotes to bring an action, is to be primarily attributed. If the plaintiff failed to appear at the anacrisis, the suit, of course, fell to the ground; if the defendant made default, judgment passed against him.[1]

VI. The anacrisis began with the affidavit of the plaintiff (προωμοσία), then followed the answer of the defendant (ἀντωμοσία or ἀντιγραφή). The parties then produced their respective witnesses, and reduced their evidence to writing, and put in originals, or authenticated copies, of all the records, deeds, and contracts that might be useful in establishing their case, as well as memoranda of offers and requisitions then made by either side (προκλήσεις). The whole of the documents were then, if the case took a straight-forward course (εὐθυδικία), inclosed on the last day of the anacrisis in a casket (ἐχῖνος), which was sealed, and intrusted to the custody of the presiding magistrate, till it was produced and opened at the trial. During the interval, no alteration in its contents was permitted, and, accordingly, evidence that had been discovered after the anacrisis was not producible at the trial.

VII. These were, in general, the proceedings in the anacrisis, and from what thus took place it is clear that the main part of the evidence on both sides was brought out in the preliminary investigation, and that at the regular trial in court the main object was to work upon the minds of the judges through the influence of the orators with reference to the evidence brought out in the anacrisis. The latter, therefore, consisted of the simple evidence, which required no oratorical discussion.

VIII. When the court was assembled for the trial of the cause, the magistrate called on the case,[2] and the plaintiff opened. At the commencement of the speech, the proper officer (ὁ ἐφ' ὕδωρ) filled the clepsydra with water. As long as water flowed from this vessel, the orator was permitted to speak; if, however, evidence was to be read by the officer of the court, or a law recited, the water was stopped till the speaker recommenced. The quantity of water, or, in other words, the length of the speeches, was not by any means the same in all causes; in the speech against Macartatus, and elsewhere, one amphora only was deemed sufficient; eleven are mentioned in the impeachment of Æschines for misconduct in his em-

[1] *Meier, Att. Proc.*, p. 623. [2] *Platner, Process und Klagen*, vol. i., p. 182.

bassy. In some few cases, as those of *κάκωσις*, according to Harpocration, no limit was prescribed.

IX. The speeches were sometimes interrupted by the cry *κατάβα*, "go down," in effect, "cease speaking," from the dicasts, which placed the advocate in a serious dilemma; for, if he still persisted in his address, he could hardly fail to offend those who bade him stop; whereas, if he obeyed the order, it might be found, after the votes had been taken, that it emanated from a minority of the dicasts.[1]

X. After the speeches of the advocates, which were, in general, two on each side, and the incidental reading of the documentary and other evidence, the dicasts proceeded to give their judgment by ballot. For this purpose they used either sea-shells (*χοιρῖναι*),[2] or beans (*κύαμοι*), or balls of metal (*σπόνδυλοι*) or of stone (*ψῆφοι*). These last were the most common; and hence *ψηφίζεσθαι*, and its various derivatives, are used so often to signify *voting*, *determining*, &c. The balls were either pierced (*τετρυπημέναι*), and whole (*πλῆρεῖς*), the former for condemnation, the latter for acquittal;[3] or they were black and white, for the same purposes respectively.[4]

XI. There might be three methods of voting. *First*, the secret method, called *κρύβδην ψηφίζεσθαι*, when each dicast had two balls given him (say a black and a white). Two boxes (*κάδοι*, *καδίσκοι*, or *ἀμφορεῖς*) were prepared, one of brass, called the judgment-box (*κύριος*), into which the dicast put the ball by which he gave his vote, and the other of wood, called *ἄκυρος*, into which he put the other ball, and the only object of which was to enable him to conceal his vote. Each box had a neck or funnel (*κημός*), into which a man could put his hand, but only one ball could pass through the lower part into the box.[5] *Secondly*, there might be only one box, into which the dicast put which of the two balls he pleased, and returned the other to the officer of the court. *Thirdly*, there might be two boxes, one for condemnation, the other for acquittal, and only one ball. The first method was most commonly practiced at Athens.

XII. When the principal point at issue was decided in favor of the plaintiff, there followed in many cases farther discussion as to the amount of damages or penalty which the defendant should pay. The method of voting upon this question seems to have varied, in that the dicasts used a small tablet instead of a ballot-ball, upon which those that approved of the heavier penalty drew a long line, the others a short one.

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[1] *Aristoph., Vesp.*, 973.
[2] *Id. ib.*, 333, 349; *Eq.*, 1332.
[3] *Æsch. c. Timarch.*, 11.
[4] *Ov., Met.*, xv., 41.
[5] *Aristoph., Vesp.*, 99, 751.

XIII. Upon judgment being given in a private suit, the Athenian law left its execution very much in the hands of the successful party, who was empowered to seize the movables of his antagonist as a pledge for the payment of the money, or institute an action of ejectment (ἐξούλης) against the refractory debtor. The judgment of a court of dicasts was in general decisive, but upon certain occasions, as, for instance, when a gross case of perjury or conspiracy could be proved by the unsuccessful party to have operated to his disadvantage, the cause, upon the conviction of such conspirators or witnesses, might be commenced *de novo*.

2. *In a Criminal Cause, or* γραφή.

I. In criminal causes the prosecution was conducted by a κύριος, or legal guardian, in behalf of an aggrieved woman, a minor, or slave. In the case of a resident alien, his προστάτης probably gave some assistance in the commencement of the proceedings, though the accusation was in the name of the person aggrieved, who also made his appearance at the trial without the intervention of the patron; and a complete foreigner would upon this occasion require the same or a still farther protection from the proxenus of his country.

II. A public action against a citizen commenced, with some exceptions, like an ordinary lawsuit, with a summons to appear before the proper magistrate on a fixed day. The anacrisis then followed; but the bill of accusation was called a γραφή or φάσις, and not an ἔγκλημα or λῆξις, as in private actions. If the prosecutor failed on the regular trial to obtain the voices of a fifth of the dicasts, in all cases except those brought before the archon that had reference to injury (κάκωσις) done to women or orphans, he was liable to a fine of one hundred drachmæ, and, besides this penalty, to a modified disfranchisement, as, for instance, an incapacity to bring a similar accusation on certain occasions.

III. When a defendant was found guilty, the superintending magistrate called upon the prosecutor to say what punishment he proposed should be inflicted on him, and what he had to say thereupon. The bill of indictment (ἔγκλημα) was always superscribed with some penalty by the person who preferred it. He was said ἐπιγράφεσθαι τίμημα, and the penalty proposed is called ἐπίγραμμα.[1] The prosecutor was now called upon to mount the platform and address the dicasts (ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τίμημα). Here he said whatever occurred to him calculated to aggravate the charge or incense the dicasts

[1] *Demosth. c. Nausim.*, 985.

against his opponents. He was not bound, however, to abide by the proposal made in the bill, but might, if he pleased (with the consent of the court), ask for a lower penalty than he had demanded before. This was often done at the request of the defendant himself or of his friends, sometimes from motives of humanity, and sometimes from prudential considerations.

IV. If the accused submitted to the punishment proposed on the other side, there was no farther dispute; if he thought it too severe, he made a counter-proposition, naming the penalty (commonly some pecuniary fine) which he considered would satisfy the demands of justice. He was then said *ἀντιτιμᾶσθαι*, or *ἑαυτῷ τιμᾶσθαι*.[1] He was allowed to address the court in mitigation of punishment; to say what he could in extenuation of his offence, or to appeal to the mercy of his judges. This was frequently done for him by his relations and friends; and it was not unusual for a man, who thought himself in peril of life or freedom, to produce his wife and children in court in order to excite compassion.[2] After both parties had been heard in this manner, the dicasts were called upon to give their second verdict, fixing the penalty.

V. If the sentence was death, the presiding magistrate of the court delivered the prisoner, who remained in the custody of the Scythæ during the trial, to the Eleven, whose business it was to execute judgment upon him. If the punishment were confiscation of property, the demarchs made an inventory of the effects of the criminal, which was read in an assembly of the people, and delivered to the *poletæ*, that they might make a sale of the goods, and pay in the proceeds to the public treasury.

CHAPTER XIX.

APPEAL (*ἔφεσις* OR *ἀναδικία*).

I. Owing to the constitution of the Athenian courts, each of which was generally appropriated to its particular subjects of cognizance, and therefore could not be considered as homogeneous with or subordinate to any other, there was little opportunity for bringing appeals, properly so called. It is to be observed, also, that in general a cause was finally and irrevocably decided by the verdict of the dicasts. There were, however, some exceptions, in which appeals and new trials might be resorted to.[3]

[1] *Demosth. c. Timocr.*, 743; *c. Nicostr.*, 1252. [2] *Dem. c. Mid.*, 573, 575.
[3] *Polluz*, viii., 62, *seqq.*

II. A new trial to annul the previous award might be obtained if the loser could prove that it was not owing to his negligence that judgment had gone by default, or that the dicasts had been deceived by false witnesses. An appeal from the verdict of the Heliasts was allowed only when one of the parties was a citizen of a foreign state, between which and Athens an agreement existed as to the method of settling disputes between individuals of the respective countries. If such a foreigner lost his cause at Athens, he was permitted to appeal to the proper court in another state, which appears to have been the native country of the litigant.

III. It is not easy to determine upon what occasions an appeal from the archons could be preferred; for, after the time of Solon, their power of deciding causes had degenerated into the mere presidency of a court (*ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου*) and the conduct of the previous examination of causes (*ἀνάκρισις*). An appeal, however, from the archons, as well as from all other officers, was very possible when they imposed a fine of their own authority, and without the sanction of a court; and it might also take place when the king-archon had by his sole voice made an award of dues and privileges (*γέρα*) contested by two priesthoods or sacerdotal races.[1]

IV. Pollux, among other instances of appeal, speaks of that from the senate to the assembly of the people. It is conjectured that this refers to cases which the former were for various reasons disinclined to decide. Others, however, think that it occurred when the senate was accused of having exceeded its powers.

CHAPTER XX.

PUNISHMENTS.

PUNISHMENT affected either the person or the property of the condemned (*παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτῖσαι*). The first comprehended not only imprisonment and capital punishment, but also banishment and atimia.

1. *Imprisonment.*

I. Imprisonment was seldom used among the Greeks as a legal punishment for offences. They preferred banishment to the expense of keeping prisoners in confinement. We do, indeed, find some cases in which it was sanctioned by law; but these are not altogether instances of its being used as a punishment. Thus the farmers of the duties and their bondsmen were liable to imprison-

[1] *Lex. Rhetoricum*, p. 219.

ment if the duties were not paid by a specified time; but the object of this was to prevent the escape of defaulters, and to insure regularity of payment.[1]

II. Again, persons who had been mulcted in penalties might be confined till they had paid them.[2] The *ἄτιμοι*, also, if they exercised the rights of citizenship, were subject to the same consequences.[3] Moreover, we read of a *δεσμός* for theft; but this was a *προστίμημα*, or additional penalty, the infliction of which was at the option of the court which tried the cause; and the *δεσμός* itself was not an imprisonment, but an exposure in the stocks for five days and nights. Still the idea of imprisonment *per se*, as a punishment, was not strange to the Athenians. Thus we find that Plato[4] proposes to have three prisons: one of these was to be a *σωφρονιστήριον*, or penitentiary, and another a place of punishment, a sort of penal settlement away from the city.

III. The prison at Athens was in former times called *δεσμωτήριον*, and afterward, by a sort of euphemism, *οἴκημα*. It was chiefly used as a guard-house, or place of execution, and was under the charge of the public officers called *the Eleven*. One gate in the prison, through which the condemned were led to execution, was called *τὸ Χαρωνεῖον*.

2. *Capital Punishment.*

I. The most common mode of execution was by the juice of the *κώνειον*, commonly supposed to have been hemlock, which was drunk after sunset. Capital punishment, such as striking down or slaying an offender, might, in certain cases, be inflicted by the party on the spot; for instance, on robbers detected in the act at night, and on adulterers.

II. The drinking of the juice of the *κώνειον* was a punishment for offences against the state. It was inflicted for treason, or attempting to overthrow the democracy (*κατάλυσις τοῦ δήμου*), for treachery (*προδοσία*), as in the case of deserters (*αὐτομολία*), for denial of the state-religion, disparagement of the mysteries, premeditated murder, &c.

3. *Exile* (*φυγή*).

I. Exile or banishment among the Greek states seldom appears as a punishment appointed by law for particular offences. We might, indeed, expect this; for the division of Greece into a number

[1] *Bockh, Pub. Econ.*, p. 339, *seqq.*
[2] *Demosth. c. Mid.*, p. 529.
[3] *Dem. c. Timocr.*, p. 732.
[4] *Leg.*, x., p. 908.

of independent states would neither admit of the establishment of penal colonies, nor of the various kinds of exile which we read of under Roman emperors. The general term *φυγή* (flight) was, for the most part, applied in the case of those who, in order to avoid some punishment or danger, removed from their own country to another. Proof of this is found in the records of the Heroic ages, and chiefly where homicide had been committed, whether with or without malice aforethought.[1]

II. In the later times of Athenian history, *φυγή*, or banishment, partook of the same nature, and was practiced nearly in the same cases as in the Heroic ages, with this difference, that the laws more strictly defined its limits, its legal consequences, and its duration. Thus, an action for willful murder was brought before the Areopagus, and for manslaughter before the court of the Ephetæ. The accused might in either case withdraw himself (*φυγεῖν*) before sentence was passed; but when a criminal evaded the punishment to which an act of murder would have exposed him had he remained in his own land, he was banished forever (*φεύγει ἀειφυγίαν*), and not allowed to return home even when other exiles were restored upon a general amnesty, since on such occasions a special exception was made against criminals banished by the Areopagus. A convicted murderer, if found within the limits of the state, might be seized and put to death,[2] and whoever harbored or entertained (*ὑπεδέξατο*) any one who had fled from his country to avoid a capital punishment, was liable to the same penalties as the fugitive himself.[3]

III. When a verdict of manslaughter was returned, it was usual for the convicted party to leave his country by a certain road, and to remain in exile until he induced some one of the relatives of the slain man to take compassion upon him. During his absence, his possessions were *ἐπίτιμα*, that is, not confiscated; but if he remained at home or returned before the requirements of the law were satisfied, he was liable to be driven or carried out of the country by force. Moreover, not only was actual murder punished with banishment and confiscation, but also a *τραῦμα ἐκ προνοίας*, or wounding with intent to kill, though death might not ensue. The same punishment was inflicted on persons who rooted up the sacred olives at Athens; and by the laws of Solon every one was liable to it who remained neuter during political contentions.

[1] *Hom., Il.*, xxiii., 88; *Od.*, xv., 275.
[2] *Demosth. c. Aris.*, p. 629.
[3] *Demosth. c. Polycl.*, p. 1222.

OSTRACISM.

I. Under φυγή, as a general term, is comprehended *Ostracism* (ὀστρακισμός). The difference between the two, according to some of the ancient writers,[1] was as follows: those who were banished lost their property by confiscation, whereas the ostracized did not; the former also had no fixed place of abode, no time of return assigned, but the latter had.

II. The ostracism was instituted by Clisthenes after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ. Its nature and objects are thus explained by Aristotle: "Democratical states used to ostracize, and remove from the city for a definite time, those who appeared to be pre eminent above their fellow-citizens by reason of their wealth, the number of their friends, or any other means of influence." It is well known, and implied in the quotations just given, that ostracism was not a punishment for any crime, but rather a precautionary removal of those who possessed sufficient power in the state to excite either envy or fear. Thus Plutarch says it was a good-natured way of allaying envy (φθόνου παραμυθία φιλάνθρωπος) by the humiliation of superior dignity and power.[2]

III. The manner of effecting an ostracism was as follows: Before the vote of ostracism could be taken, the senate and assembly had to determine in the sixth prytany of the year whether such a step was necessary. If they decided in the affirmative, a day was fixed, and the agora was inclosed with barriers, with ten entrances for the ten tribes. By these the tribesmen entered, each with his ὄστρακον, or piece of tile, on which was written the name of the individual whom he wished to be ostracized. The nine archons and the senate, *i. e.*, the presidents of that body, superintended the proceedings, and the party who had the greatest number of votes against him, supposing that this number amounted to six thousand, was obliged to withdraw (μεταστῆναι) from the city within ten days; if the number of votes did not amount to six thousand, nothing was done.[3] Plutarch, differing from other authorities, says, that for an expulsion of this sort, it was not necessary that the votes given against any individual should amount to six thousand, but only that the sum total of voters present should not be less than that number. This statement, however, though defended by Böckh and Wachsmuth, has been successfully combated by Grote.

IV. The party thus banished by the ostracism was not, however,

[1] *Suid., s. v.; Schol. ad Aristoph., Equit.*, 861. [2] *Plut., Vit. Arist.*, 10.
[3] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Equit.*, 851; *Polluc*, viii., 19.

deprived of his property. The period of his banishment was for ten years. Some of the most distinguished men at Athens were removed by it, but recalled when the city found their services indispensable. Among these were Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, and Alcibiades. The last person against whom it was used at Athens was Hyperbolus, a demagogue of low birth and character, whom Nicias and Alcibiades conspired together to ostracize when the banishment threatened each of themselves. But the Athenians thought their own dignity compromised, and ostracism degraded by such an application of it, and accordingly discontinued the practice.

V. Ostracism prevailed in other democratical states as well as at Athens; namely, at Argos, Miletus, and Megara, but we have no particulars of the way in which it was administered there. From the ostracism of Athens was copied the *Petalism* (πεταλισμός) of the Syracusans, so called from the πέταλα, or leaves of the olive, on which was written the name of the person whom they wished to remove from the city. The removal, however, was only for five years; a sufficient time, as they thought, to humble the pride and hopes of the exile. But petalism did not last long; for the fear of this "humbling" deterred the best qualified among the citizens from taking any part in public affairs, and the degeneracy and bad government which followed soon led to a repeal of the law, B.C. 452.[1]

Mr. Grote[2] has some very ingenious remarks in defence of ostracism, which he maintains was a wise precaution for upholding the democratical constitution established by Clisthenes. He observes that Clisthenes, by the spirit of his reforms, secured the hearty attachment of the body of citizens; but from the first generation of leading men, under the nascent democracy, and with such precedents as they had to look back upon, no self-imposed limits to ambition could be expected; and the problem required was to eliminate beforehand any one about to transgress these limits, so as to escape the necessity of putting him down afterward with all that bloodshed and reaction, in the midst of which the free working of the constitution would be suspended at least, if not irrevocably extinguished. To acquire such influence as would render him dangerous under democratical forms, a man must stand in evidence before the public, so as to afford some reasonable means of judging of his character and purposes; and the security which Clisthenes provided was to call in the positive judgment of the citizens respecting his future promise purely and simply, so that they might not remain too long neutral between two political rivals. Care was taken, moreover, to divest the ostracism of all painful consequence, except what was inseparable from exile; and this is not one of the least proofs of the wisdom with which it was devised. Most certainly it never deprived the public of candidates for political influence; and when we con-

[1] *Diod. Sic.*, xi., 87.

[2] *History of Greece*, vol. iv., p. 200, *seqq.*

sider the small amount of individual evil which it inflicted, two remarks will be quite sufficient to offer in the way of justification: first, it completely produced its intended effect, for the democracy grew up from infancy to manhood without a single attempt to overthrow it by force; next, through such tranquil working of the democratical forms, a constitutional morality, quite sufficiently complete, was produced among the leading Athenians, to enable the people after a certain time to dispense with that exceptional security which the ostracism offered.[1]

4. *Atimia* (ἀτιμία).

I. A citizen of Athens had the power to exercise all the rights and privileges of a citizen as long as he was not suffering under any kind of *atimia*, a word which, in meaning, nearly answers to the modern outlawry, inasmuch as a person forfeited by it the protection of the laws of his country, and mostly all the rights of a citizen also.

II. A detailed enumeration of the rights of which an atimos was deprived is given by Æschines.[2] He was not allowed to hold any civil or priestly office whatever, either in the city of Athens itself, or in any town within the dominion of Athens. He could not be employed as herald or ambassador. He could not give his opinion or speak either in the public assembly or in the senate. He was not even allowed to appear within the extent of the agora. He was excluded from visiting the public sanctuaries, as well as from taking any part in any public sacrifice. He could neither bring an action against any one from whom he had sustained any injury, nor appear as a witness in any court of justice; nor could, on the other hand, any one bring an action against him.[3]

III. The crimes for which total and perpetual *atimia* was inflicted on a person were the following: The giving and accepting of bribes, the embezzlement of public money, manifest proofs of cowardice in defence of his country, false witness, false accusation, and bad conduct toward parents. Moreover, if a person, either by deed or by word, injured or insulted a magistrate while performing the duties of his office; if as a judge he had been guilty of partiality; if he had squandered away his paternal inheritance, &c., he was equally liable to ἀτιμία.

IV. The *atimia* thus far described was perpetual; for if a person had once incurred it, he could scarcely ever hope to be lawfully released from it. It was only in times when the republic was threatened with great danger that an atimos might hope to recover his

[1] *Grote, l. c.* [2] *C. Timarch.*, p. 44, *seqq.*
[3] Compare *Demosth. c. Neaer.*, p. 1353; *c. Timocr.*, p. 739.

lost rights, and in such circumstances the atimoi were sometimes restored *en masse* to their former rights.[1]

V. A second kind of atimia, which, though in its extent a total one, lasted only until the person subject to it fulfilled those duties for the neglect of which it had been inflicted, was not so much a punishment for any particular crime, as a means of compelling a man to submit to the laws. This was the atimia of public debtors. Any citizen of Athens who owed money to the public treasury, whether his debt arose from a fine to which he had been condemned, or from a part he had taken in any branch of the administration, or from his having pledged himself to the republic for another person, was in a state of total atimia if he refused to pay, or could not pay the sum that was due. His children, during his lifetime, were not, however, included in his atimia, but remained ἐπίτιμοι.[2] If he persevered in his refusal to pay beyond the time of the ninth prytany, his debt was doubled, and his property was taken and sold.[3] If the sum obtained by the sale was sufficient to pay the debt, the atimia appears to have ceased; but if not, the atimia not only continued to the death of the public debtor, but was inherited by his heirs, and lasted until the debt was paid off.[4]

VI. A third and only partial kind of atimia deprived the person on whom it was inflicted merely of a portion of his rights as a citizen.[5] It was called *ἀτιμία κατὰ πρόςταξιν*, because it was specified in every case what particular right was forfeited by the atimos. The following are some of the cases that fall under this head. If a man came forward as a public accuser, and afterward either dropped the charge or did not obtain a fifth of the votes in favor of his accusation, he was not only liable to a fine of one thousand drachmæ, but was subjected to an atimia, which deprived him of the right in future to appear as accuser in a case of the same nature as that in which he had been defeated or which he had given up. If his accusation had been a *γραφὴ ἀσεβείας*, he also lost the right of visiting certain temples.[6] Some cases are also mentioned in which an accuser, though he did not obtain a fifth of the votes, was not subjected to any punishment whatever. Such was the case in a charge brought before the first archon respecting the ill treatment of parents, orphans, or heiresses. In other cases the accuser was merely subject to the fine of one thousand drachmæ, without incurring any degree of atimia.

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1 *Xen., Hellen.*, ii., 2, 11.
2 *Dem. c. Theocrin.*, p. 1322.
3 *Demosth. c. Nicostr.*, p. 1255.
4 *Dem. c. Androt.*, p. 603; *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 381, 2d ed.
5 *Andocid., de Myst.*, p. 17 and 36.
6 *Id. ib.*

CHAPTER XXI.

(B.) RELIGION.

1. *Gods.*

I. The chief deity of Athens was Minerva (Ἀθηνᾶ), the protectress of the city, and hence called Ἀθηνᾶ πολιάς. As the patron divinity of the state, she was the protectress of the phratriæ and houses which formed the basis of the state. She also maintained the authority of the law, and justice, and order in the courts and the assembly of the people. She was popularly believed to have instituted the ancient court of the Areopagus; and in the case of Orestes, where the votes of the judges of this court were equally divided, she was said to have given the casting vote in favor of the accused. As the protectress of agriculture, she is represented as the inventress of the plough and rake. She created the olive-tree, the greatest blessing of Attica, taught the people to yoke oxen to the plough, took care of the breeding of horses, and instructed men how to tame them by the bridle, her own invention.

II. The people of Attica also worshipped *Jupiter* (Ζεὺς πολιεύς, ἑρκεῖος), *Ceres* (Δημήτηρ), *Proserpina* (Περσεφόνη), *Apollo* (Ἀπόλλων), as the god of the Ionic race (θεὸς πατρῷος), to whose sanctuary at Delos sacred embassies (θεωρίαι) were accustomed to be sent, *Diana* (Ἄρτεμις), *Bacchus* (Διόνυσος), *Vulcan* (Ἥφαιστος), *Venus* (Ἀφροδίτη), *Vesta* (Ἑστία), *Mercury* (Ἑρμῆς), *Neptune* (Ποσειδῶν), *Nemesis*, the *Eumenides*, and others. Among the national heroes we find *Erechtheus*, *Triptolemus*, *Cecrops*, *Theseus*, and, in later times, *Codrus*, *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton*.

2. *Temples.*

I. We have already made mention of the most celebrated temples at Athens in our account of that city; we will now proceed to make some remarks on temples generally.

II. Temples appear to have existed in Greece from the earliest times. They were separated from the profane land around them (τόπος βέβηλος or τὰ βέβηλα) by inclosures, generally of stone, the entrance to which was decorated, as architecture advanced, with magnificent propylæa, as in the case of the Parthenon at Athens. The whole space inclosed in such a περίβολος was called τέμενος, or

sometimes *ἱερόν*,[1] and contained, besides the temple itself, other sacred buildings, and sacred grounds planted with groves, &c. Within the precincts of the sacred inclosure no dead were generally allowed to be buried, though there were some exceptions to this rule, and we have instances of persons being buried in, or, at least, near certain temples. The religious laws of the island of Delos did not allow any corpses to be buried within the whole extent of the island;[2] and when this law had been violated, a part of the island was first purified by Pisistratus, and subsequently the whole island by the Athenian people.

III. The temple itself was called *νεώς*, and at its entrance fonts of lustral water (*περιῤῥαντήρια*) were generally placed, that those who entered the sanctuary to pray or to offer sacrifices might first purify themselves.[3] The character of the early Greek temples was dark and mysterious, for they had no windows, and they received light through the door, which was very large, or from lamps burning in them.

IV. All temples were built either in an oblong or round form, and were mostly adorned with columns. Those of an oblong form had columns either in the front alone, in the fore and back fronts, or on all the four sides. The friezes and metopes were adorned with various sculptures, and no expense was spared in embellishing the structure. The light which was formerly let in at the door was now frequently let in from above, through an opening in the middle, called *ὕπαιθρον*, and a temple thus constructed was called *ὕπαιθρος*.[4]

V. Many of the great temples consisted of three parts: 1. The *πρόναος* or *πρόδομος*, the vestibule. 2. The *cella* (*ναός*, *σηκός*); and, 3. The *ὀπισθόδομος*. The *cella* was the most important part, as it was, properly speaking, the temple, or the habitation of the deity whose statue it contained. In one and the same cella there were sometimes the statues of two or more divinities, as in the Erechtheum at Athens, the statues of Neptune, Vulcan, and Butas. The statues always faced the entrance, which was in the centre of the front portico. The place where the statue stood was called *ἕδος*, and was surrounded by a balustrade or railing (*ἴκρια*, *ἐρύματα*). Some temples had also more than one cella, in which case the one was generally behind the other, as in the temple of Minerva Polias at Athens. In temples where oracles were given, or where the worship was connected with mysteries, the cella was called *ἄδυτον*, *μέγαρον*, or

[1] *Herod.*, ix., 36; vi., 19; *Valck.*, *ad loc.*

[2] *Thucyd.*, iii., 104. Compare *Herod.*, i., 64.

[3] *Pollux*, i., 10; *Herod.*, i., 51.

[4] *Vitruv.*, iv., 5.

ἀνάκτορον, and to it none but the priests and the initiated had access.[1]

VI. In some cases the cella was not accessible to any human being, and various stories were related of the calamities that had befallen persons who had ventured to cross the threshold.[2]

VII. The *ὀπισθόδομος* was a chamber which had its entrance in the back front of a temple, and served as a place in which the treasures of the temple were kept, and thus supplied the place of the *θησαυροί* which were attached to some temples.[3]

VIII. Independently of the immense treasures contained in many of the Greek temples, which were either utensils or ornaments, and of the tithes of spoils, &c.,[4] the property of temples, from which they derived a regular income, consisted of lands (*τεμένη*), either fields, pastures, or forests. In Attica we sometimes find that a demus was in possession of the estates of a particular temple. Thus the Piræeus possessed the lands belonging to the Theseum. In what their rights consisted is not known; but of whatever kind it may have been, the revenues accruing from such property were given to the temples, and served to defray the expenses for sacrifices, the maintenance of the buildings, &c. For this purpose, all temple-property was generally let out to farm, unless it was, by some curse that lay upon it, prevented from being taken into cultivation. The supreme control over all property of temples belonged to the popular assembly.[5]

IX. Respecting the persons intrusted with the superintendence, keeping, cleaning, &c., of temples, we possess scarcely any information. We find mention made of persons called *κλειδοῦχοι*, *κληδοῦχοι*, and *νεοφύλακες*, who must have been employed as guards and porters, although it is not certain whether these functions were not performed by priests, who were occasionally called by names derived from some particular function. Thus, at Olympia, *φαιδρύνται* were appointed who belonged to the family of Phidias, and had to keep clean the statue of Olympian Jove.

3. *Festivals.*

A great number of festivals were celebrated at Athens, the most important of which were the *Panathenæa*, *Dionysia*, *Apaturia*, *Thesmophoria*, and *Eleusinia*.

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[1] *Pollux*, i., 9; *Pausan.*, ix., 8, 1. [2] *Paus.*, viii., 52, 3.
[3] *Müller, Archæol. d. Kunst.*, § 288; *Stieglitz, Archæol. d. Baukunst*, vol. ii., § 1.
[4] *Herod.*, vii., 132; *Diod. Sic.*, xi., 3. [5] *Dem. c. Neaer.*, p. 1380.

1. PANATHENÆA.

I. The *Panathenæa* (Παναθήναια) was the greatest and most splendid of the festivals celebrated in Attica, in honor of Athena (Minerva), in the character of Athena Polias, or the protectress of the city. It was said to have been instituted by Erichthonius, and its original name until the time of Theseus was believed to have been *Athenæa;* but when Theseus united all the people of Attica into one body, this festival, which then became the common festival of all Atticans, was called *Panathenæa*, as commemorative of this political union.[1]

II. The Panathenæa, which, as far as the character implied in the name is concerned, must be regarded as an institution of Theseus, was celebrated once in every year. It consisted of two festivals, the greater and the less (*μεγάλα καὶ μικρά*), the former held every fifth year (*πενταετηρίς*), the latter every year.[2] The lesser Panathenæa (which is mostly called by this name, without any epithet) was celebrated probably on the seventeenth of the month Hecatombæon (the last half of our July and the first part of August). The great Panathenæa (which is generally distinguished by the epithet of *μεγάλα*) was held in the third year of every Olympiad, on the same days of the month Hecatombæon, on which the lesser Panathenæa was held; but the latter were not celebrated at all in those years in which the former or greater fell.

III. The lesser as well as the greater Panathenæa lasted, as is thought, for twelve days, that is, from the seventeenth to the twenty-eighth of Hecatombæon.[3] The ancients call the Panathenæa the longest of all festivals, and it was characterized by a great variety of games and ceremonies. The principal difference between the two festivals was, that the greater one was more solemn, and that on this occasion the peplus of Athena was carried to her temple in a most magnificent procession, which was not held at the lesser Panathenæa.

IV. The solemnities, games, and amusements of the Panathenæa were, rich sacrifices of bulls; foot, horse, and chariot races; gymnastic and musical contests, and the lampadephoria, or torch-race. Rhapsodists, moreover, recited the poems of Homer and other epic bards, philosophers disputed, cock-fights were exhibited, and the people indulged in a variety of other amusements. We will consider some of these more in detail:

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[1] *Pausan.*, viii., 2, 1; *Plut., Thes.*, 24.
[2] *Suid., s. v.*
[3] *Proclus ad Plat., Tim.*, p. 9.

(A.) *Gymnastic Contests, &c.*

V. Gymnastic contests, horse and chariot races, and sacrifices, are mentioned in connection with this festival, in the legends belonging to the period anterior to the reign of Theseus.[1] The prize in these contests was a vase, with some oil from the ancient and sacred olive-tree of Athena on the Acropolis. A great many of such vases, called Panathenaic vases (*ἀμφορεῖς Παναθηναικοί*), have in late years been found in Etruria, Southern Italy, Sicily, and Greece. They represent on one side the figure of Athena, and on the other the various contests and games in which these vases were given as prizes to the victors.

(B.) *Recitation of Poems, &c.*

VI. The poems of Homer were read by rhapsodists only at the great Panathenæa,[2] and this custom commenced in the time of Pisistratus or of his son Hipparchus, after these poems had been collected. Afterward the works of other epic poets also were recited on this occasion.[3] Songs in praise of Harmodius and Aristogiton appear to have been among the standing customs at the Panathenæa. Musical contests in singing, and in playing on the flute and the cithara, were not introduced until the time of Pericles; they were held in the Odeum. The prize for the victors in the musical contests was, as in the gymnastic ones, a vase, but with an additional chaplet of olive branches. Cyclic choruses and other kinds of dances were also performed at the Panathenæa, and the Pyrrhic dance in armor is expressly mentioned. Of the discussions of philosophers and orators at this festival we still possess two specimens, the *λόγος Παναθηναικός* of Isocrates, and that of Aristides. Herodotus, moreover, is said to have recited his history, or a part of it at least, to the Athenians at the Panathenæa.

(C.) *Lampadephoria, or Torch-race.*

VII. The *Lampadephoria* (*λαμπαδηφορία*), or "torch-bearing," was also called *λαμπαδηδρομία*, "torch-race," and *λαμπαδοῦχος ἀγών*. Sometimes the name *λαμπάς* was simply applied to it. It was a game common no doubt throughout Greece; for though all we know concerning it belongs to Athens, yet we hear of it at Corinth, Pergamus, and other places. At Athens we know of five celebrations of this game: one to Prometheus at the Promethea; a second to

[1] *Plut., Thes.*, 24; *Apollod.*, iii., 14, 6.
[2] *Lycurg. c. Leocr.*, p. 161.
[3] *Plat., Hipparch.*, p. 228, *b*.; *Ælian, V. H.*, viii., 2.

Athena at the Panathenæa; a third to Hephæstus, at the Hephæstea; a fourth to Pan; a fifth to the Thracian Artemis or Bendis.

VIII. The race was usually run on foot, horses being first used in the time of Socrates,[1] sometimes also at night. The preparation for it was a principal branch of the *γυμνασιαρχία*, so much so, indeed, in later times, that *λαμπαδαρχία* seems to have been pretty much equivalent to the *γυμνασιαρχία*.[2] The gymnasiarch had to provide the *λαμπάς*, which was a candlestick, with a kind of shield at the bottom of the socket, and a handle beneath, as is seen in the following wood-cut taken from a coin.

IX. Two accounts have been handed down to us respecting the manner in which the lampadephoria was run, which at first view seem contradictory. First, it is represented as a course in which a *λαμπάς* was carried from one point to another by a chain of runners, each of whom formed a successive link. The first, after running a certain distance, handed it to the second, the second in like manner to the third, and so on until it reached the point proposed. Hence the game is used by Herodotus as a comparison whereby to illustrate the Persian *ἀγγαρήϊον*,[3] and by Plato[4] as a living image of successive generations of men, as also by Lucretius in the well-known line, "*Et quasi cursores vitai lampada tradunt.*"[5] And it is said that the art consisted in the several runners carrying the torch unextinguished through their respective distances, those who let it go out losing all share of honor.

X. Now, if this were all, such explanation might content us; but, secondly, we are plainly told that it was an *ἀγών*, the runners are said *ἀμιλλᾶσθαι*,[6] some are said to have won (*νικᾶν λαμπάδι*),[7] the scholiast on Aristophanes[8] talks of *τοὺς ὑστάτους τρέχοντας*, which shows that it must have been a race between a number of persons, and again speaks of *ἀφεῖναι τοὺς δρομέας, τοὺς τρέχοντας*,[9] which shows that a number must have started at once. This second account implies competition. But in a chain of runners, each of whom

1 *Plat., de Rep.*, p. 328, *a.*
2 *Arist., Pol.*, v., 8, 20.
3 *Herod.*, viii., 98.
4 *Leg.*, p. 776, *b.*
5 *Lucret.*, ii., 77.
6 *Plat., Rep.*, p. 328, *a.*
7 *Andoc. in Alcib., ad fin.*
8 *Ran.*, 131.
9 *Id.*, 133.

handed the torch to the next man successively, where could the competition be? One runner might be said to lose, namely, he who let the torch go out, but who could be said to win? Hence it has been supposed that there were several *chains* of runners, each of which had to carry the torch the given distance, and that chain in which it travelled most quickly, and soonest reached its destination, would be the winner.

(D.) *Sacrifices, Grand Procession, &c.*

XI. The sacrifices at the Panathenæa were very munificent; for each town of Attica, as well as every colony of Athens, and, during the time of her greatness, every subject town, had to contribute to this sacrifice by sending one bull each.[1] The meat of the victims appears to have been distributed among the people; but before the feasting commenced, the public herald prayed for the welfare and prosperity of the republic. After the battle of Marathon, the Platæans were included in this prayer.[2]

XII. The chief solemnity of the great Panathenæa was the magnificent procession to the temple of Minerva Polias, which is supposed to have taken place on the last day of the festive season. The whole of this procession was represented in the frieze of the Parthenon, the work of Phidias and his disciples. The chief object of this procession was to carry the peplus of the goddess to her temple. It was a crocus-colored garment for the goddess, and made by maidens called ἐργαστῖναι.[3] In it were woven Enceladus and the giants, as they were conquered by the goddess.[4] The peplus was not carried to the temple by men, but was suspended from the mast of a ship; and this ship, which was at other times kept near the Areopagus, was moved along on land, it is said, by subterraneous machines. What these machines may have been is involved in utter obscurity.

XIII. In this procession nearly the whole population of Attica appears to have taken part, either on foot, on horseback, or in chariots, as may be seen in the frieze of the Parthenon. The procession proceeded from the Ceramicus to the temple of Ceres at Eleusis, and thence along the Pelasgic wall and the temple of Apollo Pythius to the Pnyx, and thence to the Acropolis, where the statue of Minerva Polias was adorned with the peplus. Aged men carried olive branches, and were called θαλλοφόροι; young men attended, at least in earlier times, in armor;[5] and maidens, who belonged to the noblest

[1] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Nub.*, 385. [2] *Herod.*, vi., 111. [3] *Hesych., s. v.*
[4] *Eurip., Hec.*, 466; *Suid., s. v.* Πέπλος. [5] *Thucyd.*, vi., 56

families of Athens, carried baskets containing offerings for the goddess, whence they were called *κανηφόροι*. Respecting the part which aliens took in this procession, and the duties they had to perform, we have elsewhere spoken. Men who had deserved well of the republic were rewarded with a gold crown at the great Panathenæa, and the herald had to announce the event during the gymnastic contests.[1] Prisoners, also, were allowed to enjoy freedom during the great Panathenæa.

2. DIONYSIA (Διονύσια).

I. The *Dionysia* (*Διονύσια*) were festivals in honor of Bacchus (*Διόννσος*), and were celebrated in various parts of Greece. The *Attic Dionysia*, however, to which we are now going to refer, were four in number, namely, the *Διονύσια κατ' ἀγρούς*, or the rural Dionysia, the *Λήναια*, the *Ἀνθεστήρια*, and the *Διονύσια ἐν ἄστει*. The season of the year sacred to Bacchus was during the months nearest to the shortest day, and the Attic festivals were accordingly celebrated in the months of *Poseideon*, *Gamelion*, *Anthesterion*, and *Elaphebolion*, which include the period from the beginning of the latter half of *December* to the end of the first half of *April*.

II. The *Διονύσια κατ' ἀγρούς* or *μικρά*, the rural or lesser Dionysia, was a vintage festival, and was celebrated in the various demi of Attica in the month Poseideon (the latter half of December and the first half of January). It was under the superintendence of the several local magistrates, the demarchs. This was doubtless the most ancient of all, and was held with the highest degree of merriment and freedom. Even slaves enjoyed full freedom during its celebration, and their boisterous shouts on the occasion were almost intolerable. It is here that we have to seek for the origin of comedy, in the jests and the scurrilous abuse which the peasants vented upon the by-standers, from a wagon in which they rode about (*κῶμος ἐφ' ἁμαξῶν*).

III. The second festival, the *Lenæa* (*Λήναια*), from *ληνός*, the wine-press, was celebrated in the month of Gamelion (the latter half of January and first half of February). The place of its celebration was the ancient temple of Bacchus Limnæus (from *λίμνη*, as the district was originally a swamp). This temple, called the Lenæon, was situate to the south of the theatre of Bacchus,[2] and near to it. The Lenæa was celebrated with a procession, and with scenic contests in tragedy and comedy. The procession probably went to the Lenæon, where a goat (*τράγος*) was sacrificed, and a chorus

[1] *Demosth., de Coron.*, p. 256.

[2] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Ran.*, 480.

standing around the altar sang the dithryambic ode to the god. Hence the chorus, and tragedy which arose out of it, were called respectively *τραγικὸς χορός* and *τραγῳδία*. The poet who wished his play to be brought out at the Lenæa applied to the second archon, who had the superintendence of this festival, as well as the Anthesteria, and who gave him a chorus if the piece was thought to deserve it.

IV. The third Dionysiac festival, the *Anthesteria*, was celebrated in the month Anthesterion (the latter half of February and the first half of March). It lasted three days, the first day falling on the eleventh of the month.[1] The second archon superintended the celebration, and distributed the prizes among the victors in the various games which were carried on during the season.[2] The first day was called *πιθοιγία*; the second *χόες*; and the third *χύτροι*. The first day derived its name from the opening of the casks to taste the wine of the preceding year; the second from *χοῦς*, the cup, and seems to have been the day devoted to drinking. The third day had its name from *χύτρος*, a pot, and on this day persons offered pots with flowers, seeds, or cooked vegetables as a sacrifice to Bacchus and Hermes Chthonius. Slaves were permitted to take part in the general rejoicings of the Anthesteria, but at the close of the day they were sent home with the words *θύραζε, Κᾶρες, οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀνθεστήρια*.[3]

V. There were also certain mysteries connected with the Anthesteria. These were held at night, in the ancient temple *ἐν Λίμναις*, which was opened only once a year, on the twelfth of Anthesterion. They were likewise under the superintendence of the second archon and a certain number of *ἐπιμεληταί*. The wife of the second archon offered on this occasion a mysterious sacrifice for the welfare of the city. Men were excluded from these mysteries, which are thought to have contained a symbolical representation of the history of Bacchus, as the history of Ceres was contained in those of Eleusis.[4]

VI. The fourth Attic festival of Bacchus, *Διονύσια ἐν ἄστει, ἀστικά*, or *μεγάλα*, was celebrated about the twelfth of the month *Elaphebolion*[5] (the latter half of March and the first half of April), but we do not know whether it lasted more than one day or not. The order in which the solemnities took place was a great public procession, a chorus of boys, comedy and tragedy. Of the dramas which were performed at the great Dionysia, the tragedies at least were gen-

[1] *Suid., s. v.* Χόες.
[2] *Aristoph., Acharn.*, 1143; *Schol. ad loc.*
[3] *Hesych., s. v.* Θύραζε.
[4] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Ran.*, 343.
[5] *Æsch. c. Ctesiph.*, p. 63.

erally new pieces. The first archon had the superintendence, and gave the chorus to the dramatic poet who wished to bring out his piece at this festival. The prize awarded to the dramatic poet for the best play consisted of an ivy crown, and his name was proclaimed in the theatre of Bacchus.[1]

VII. During this and some other of the great Attic festivals, prisoners were set free, and nobody was allowed to seize the goods of a debtor; but a war was not interrupted by its celebration. As the great Dionysia were celebrated at the beginning of spring, when the navigation was reopened, Athens was visited not only by numbers of country people, but also by strangers from other parts of Greece, and the various amusements and exhibitions on this occasion were not unlike those of a modern fair.

3. THESMOPHORIA (Θεσμοφόρια).

I. The *Thesmophoria* was a great festival celebrated in honor of Ceres, and only by married women, though some ceremonies also were performed by maidens. They were held in the month of Pyanepsion (the latter half of October and the first half of November), and began on the eleventh. It was intended to commemorate the introduction of the laws and regulations of civilized life, which was universally ascribed to Ceres.[2] According to Hesychius, it lasted four days, but from a passage in Aristophanes it would seem to have lasted five.[3] The women spent several days before the commencement of the real festival in preparation and purifications. During this time the women of each demus appointed two married women from among themselves to conduct the preliminary solemnities,[4] and their husbands, who had received a dowry amounting to three talents, had to pay the expenses for the solemnity in the form of a liturgy.[5]

II. The festival itself lasted, according to the most probable supposition, for three days. The first day was called *ἄνοδος* or *κάθοδος*, from the circumstance that the solemnities were opened by the women with a procession from Athens to Eleusis. In this procession they carried on their heads sacred laws (*νόμιμοι βίβλοι* or *θεσμοί*), the introduction of which was ascribed to Demeter Θεσμοφόρος, and other symbols of civilized life. The women spent the night at Eleusis in celebrating the mysteries of the goddess.

III. The second day, called *νηστεία*,[6] was a day of mourning, du-

1 *Demosth., de Coron.*, p. 267.
2 *Diod. Sic.*, v., 5.
3 *Aristoph., Thesm.*, 80.
4 *Isæus, de Ciron. hered.*, p. 208.
5 *Id., de Pyrr. hered.*, p. 66.
6 *Athen.*, vii., p. 307.

ring which the women sat on the ground around the statue of Ceres, and took no other food than cakes made of sesame and honey.[1] On this day no meetings of the senate or people were held. The third day, called *καλλιγένεια*, from the circumstance that Ceres was invoked under this name,[2] was a day of merriment and raillery among the women themselves, in commemoration of Iambe, who was said to have made the goddess smile during her grief for the loss of her daughter.[3]

IV. Thesmophoria were also celebrated in many other parts of Greece Proper and its colonies, as at Sparta, Thebes in Bœotia, Miletus, Syracuse, Eretria, Delos, Ephesus, &c.

4. ELEUSINIA (Ἐλευσίνια).

I. The *Eleusinia* were a festival and mysteries, originally celebrated only at Eleusis in Attica, in honor of Ceres and Proserpina. All the ancients who have occasion to mention the Eleusinian mysteries, or *the* mysteries, as they were sometimes called, agree that they were the holiest and most venerable of all that were celebrated in Greece.[4] Various traditions were current among the Greeks respecting the author of these mysteries, but all the accounts and allusions in the ancient writers seem to warrant the conclusion that the legends concerning the introduction of the Eleusinia are descriptions of a period when the inhabitants of Attica were becoming acquainted with the benefits of agriculture and of a regularly constituted form of society.

II. We must distinguish between the greater Eleusinia, which were celebrated at Athens and Eleusis, and the lesser, which were held at Agræ, on the Ilissus.[5] The latter appears to have been, in fact, merely a preparation[6] for the real mysteries, and by the means of them any Greek—not, as before their institution, any inhabitant of Attica merely—might obtain the benefit of initiation. These lesser Eleusinia were held every year in the month of Anthesterion[7] (the latter half of February and the first half of March), and, according to some accounts, in honor of Proserpina alone. Those who were initiated in them bore the name of *mystæ* (*μύσται*), and had to wait at least another year before they could be admitted to the great mysteries. The principal rites of this first stage of initiation consisted in the sacrifice of a sow, which the mystæ seem to have first washed in the Cantharus,[8] and in the purification by a priest, who bore the

[1] *Aristoph., Thesm.*, 535. [2] *Id. ib.*, 296. [3] *Id. ib.*, 792.
[4] *Aristot., Rhet.*, ii., 24; *Cic., N. D.*, i., 42. [5] *Hesych., s. v.* Ἄγρα.
[6] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Plut.*, 846. [7] *Plut., Demetr.*, 26. [8] *Aristoph., Acharn.*, 703.

name of Hydranos.[1] The mystæ had also to take an oath of secresy, which was administered to them by the mystagogus, also called *ἱεροφάντης* or *προφήτης*, who was always a member of the priestly family of the Eumolpidæ. They likewise received some preparatory instruction, which enabled them afterward to understand the mysteries that were revealed to them in the greater Eleusinia. They were not admitted, however, into the sanctuary of Ceres, but remained during the solemnities in the vestibule.[2]

III. The *Great Mysteries* were celebrated every year in the month Boedromion (the latter half of September and the first half of October), during nine days, from the 15th to the 23d, both at Athens and Eleusis.[3] The initiated were called *ἐπόπται* or *ἔφυροι*. On the *first day*, those who had been initiated in the lesser Eleusinia assembled at Athens, whence its name was *ἀγυρμός*; but strangers, who wished to witness the celebration of these national solemnities, likewise visited Athens in great numbers at this season, and we find it expressly stated that Athens was crowded with visitors on the occasion. On the *second day*, the mystæ went in solemn procession to the sea-coast, where they underwent a purification. Hence the day was called Ἅλαδε μύσται,[4] probably the conventional phrase by which the mystæ were invited to assemble for the purpose. Suidas mentions two rivulets, called *ῥειτοί*, as the place to which the mystæ went in order to be purified.[5]

IV. Of the *third day* scarcely any thing is known with certainty; we only learn from Clemens of Alexandrea[6] that it was a day of fasting, and that in the evening a frugal meal was taken, which consisted of cakes made of sesame and honey. On the *fourth day* the *κάλαθος κάθοδος* appears to have taken place. This was a procession with a basket containing pomegranates and poppy-seeds, which was carried on a wagon drawn by oxen, and women followed with small mystic cases in their hands. On the *fifth day*, which appears to have been called the torch day (*ἡ τῶν λαμπάδων ἡμέρα*), the mystæ, led by the *δᾳδοῦχος*, went in the evening with torches to the temple of Ceres at Eleusis, where they seem to have remained during the night. This rite was probably a symbolical representation of Ceres wandering about in search of Proserpina. The *sixth day*, called *Iakchos*,[7] was the most solemn of all. The statue of Iakchos, son of Ceres, adorned with a garland of myrtle, and bearing a torch in his

1 *Hesych., s. v.* Ὑδρανός.
2 *Sen., Quæst. Nat.*, vii., 31.
3 *Plut., Demetr.*, 26; *Meurs., Eleusin.*, c. 21.
4 *Hesych., s. v.*; *Polyæn.*, iii., 11.
5 *Suid., s. v.* Ῥειτοί.
6 *Clem. Alex., Protrept.*, p. 18, ed. Pott.
7 *Hesych., s. v.* Ἴακχος.

hand, was carried along the sacred road,[1] amid joyous shouts and songs, from the Ceramicus to Eleusis.[2] This solemn procession was accompanied by great numbers of followers and spectators, amounting to many thousands. During the night from the sixth to the seventh day, the mystæ remained at Eleusis, and were initiated into the last mysteries. Those who were neither ἐπόπται nor μύσται were sent away by a herald.

V. The mystæ now repeated the oath of secrecy which had been administered to them at the lesser Eleusinia, underwent a new purification, and then were led by the mystagogus, in the darkness of night, into the lighted interior of the sanctuary, and were allowed to see what none except the epoptæ ever beheld. The awful and horrible manner in which the initiation is described by later, especially Christian writers, seems partly to proceed from their ignorance of its real character, and partly from their horror and aversion to these pagan rites. The more ancient writers always abstained from entering upon any description of the subject. Each individual, after his initiation, is said to have been dismissed by the words κόγξ, ὄμπαξ,[3] in order to make room for other mystæ.

VI. On the *seventh day*, the initiated returned to Athens amid various kinds of raillery and jests, especially at the bridge over the Cephisus, where they sat down to rest, and poured forth their ridicule on those who passed by. Hence the words γεφυρίζειν and γεφυρισμός.[4] These σκώμματα seem, like the procession with torches to Eleusis, to have been dramatical and symbolical representations of the jests by which, according to the ancient legend, Iambe or Baubo had dispelled the grief of the goddess and made her smile. We may here observe, that probably the whole history of Ceres and Proserpina was in some way or other symbolically represented at the Eleusinia. Hence Clemens of Alexandrea[5] calls the Eleusinian mysteries a "mystical drama."

VII. The *eighth day*, called Ἐπιδαύρια, was a kind of additional day for those who, by some accident, had come too late, or had been prevented from being initiated on the sixth day. It was said to have been added to the original number of days when Æsculapius, coming over from Epidaurus to be initiated, arrived too late, and the Athenians, not to disappoint the god, added an eighth day.[6] The *ninth* and *last day* bore the name of πλημοχόαι,[7] from a peculiar kind of vessel called πλημοχόη, which is described as a small kind of κότυ-

[1] *Plut., Alcib.*, 34. [2] *Aristoph., Ran.*, 315. [3] *Hesych., s. v.*
[4] *Strab.*, ix., p. 395. [5] *Protrept.*, p. 12, ed. Pott.
[6] *Philostr., Vit. Apoll.*, iv., 6; *Paus.*, ii., 26, 7. [7] *Pollux*, x., 74; *Athen.*, xi., p. 496.

λος. Two of these vessels were on this day filled with water or wine, and the contents of the one thrown to the east, and those of the other to the west, while those who performed this rite uttered some mystical words.

VIII. Besides the various rites and ceremonies thus far described, several others are mentioned, but it is not known to which day they belonged. Among them we shall mention only the Eleusinian games and contests, which Meursius assigns to the seventh day. They are mentioned by Gellius,[1] and are said to have been the most ancient in Greece. The prize of the victors consisted in ears of barley.[2] It was considered as one of the greatest profanations of the Eleusinia if, during their celebration, an ἄτιμος came as a suppliant to the temple, and placed his olive branch in it,[3] and whoever did so might be put to death, without any trial, or had to pay a fine of one thousand drachmæ. If any one, also, divulged any thing relative to the mysteries, the punishment was death. It may likewise be remarked, that at the Eleusinia, and also other festivals, no man, while celebrating the festival, could be seized or arrested for any offence.[4] Lycurgus made it a law that any woman using a carriage in the procession to Eleusis should be fined one thousand drachmæ. The custom against which this law was directed seems to have been very common before.

The Eleusinian mysteries long survived the independence of Greece. Attempts to suppress them were made by the Emperor Valentinian, but he met with strong opposition, and they seem to have continued down to the time of the elder Theodosius. Respecting the secret doctrines which were revealed in them to the initiated, nothing certain is known. The general belief of the ancients was, that they opened to man a comforting prospect of a future state. But this feature does not seem to have been originally connected with these mysteries, and was probably added to them at the period which followed the opening of a regular intercourse between Greece and Egypt, when some of the speculative doctrines of the latter country, and of the East, may have been introduced into the mysteries, and hallowed by the names of the venerable bards of the mythic age. This supposition would also account, in some measure, for the legend of their introduction from Egypt. In modern times, many attempts have been made to discover the nature of the mysteries revealed to the initiated, but the results have been as various and fanciful as might be expected. The most sober and probable view is that according to which "they were the remains of a worship which preceded the rise of the Hellenic mythology and its attendant rites, grounded on a view of nature less fanciful, more

[1] *N. A.*, xv., 20.
[2] *Schol. ad Pind.*, Ol. ix., 150.
[3] *Andoc., de Myst.*, p. 54.
[4] *Demosth. c. Mid.*, p. 571.

earnest, and better fitted to awaken both philosophic thought and religious feeling."[1]

4. *Priests and Worship.*

I. Of the priesthoods, some were accessible to all whose fathers and grandfathers had been citizens; others were confined to certain sacerdotal families, the *Eumolpĭdæ* and *Cerўces* for instance, who were employed in the service of the Eleusinian Ceres, and the *Eteobutădæ* in that of Minerva Polias. It was requisite that all priests should be of legitimate birth, without bodily defect, and of unblamable life and conversation. These particulars were ascertained by a *Dokimasia.* They were generally chosen by lot, sometimes from a reduced number of candidates previously nominated. The time of their continuance in office varied.

II. The duties of the priests consisted in preparing such sacrifices as were either prescribed by usage, or enjoined by the oracle or the people; in taking care that the arrangements and interests of the temple were observed by individuals who brought private offerings, and in calling in and taking charge of the temple revenues, of which they were required to render an account to the Logistæ and Euthўni. The priests themselves received a share of the income, particularly of the sacrifices, but in all other respects they seem to have borne the usual burdens in common with their fellow-citizens.

III. Many religious solemnities were under the charge of the magistrates; for instance, the king-archon, as already remarked, presided at the Lenæa, or older Dionysia; superintended the mysteries, and the λαμπαδηφορίαι, and had to offer up sacrifices and prayers in the temple of Ceres both at Athens and Eleusis. The other officers employed in matters relating to public worship were, I. The ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων, who were, in connection with the king-archon, the managers of the Eleusinian mysteries. They were elected by open vote, and were four in number, of whom two were chosen from the general body of citizens, one from the Eumolpidæ, and one from the Ceryces.[2] II. The ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, who, together with other functionaries called ἐπιστάται, had the custody and management of temple-funds, sacred treasures, &c.[3] III. The three ἐξηγηταί, members of the family of the Eumolpidæ, who decided legal questions respecting the privileges of the priests, and interpreted prodigies and διοσημίαι. IV. Several sorts of ἱεροποιοί, who officiated at the sacrifices. V. The βοῶναι, elected by the people, and charged with the purchase of beasts for the sacrifices, &c.

[1] *Thirlwall, Hist. Gr.*, ii., p. 140, *seqq.*
[2] *Suid., s. v.*; *Dem. c. Mid.*, p. 570, 6.
[3] *Demosth. c. Androt.*, p. 615.

CHAPTER XXII.

(C.) MILITARY AFFAIRS.

1. *Military Service.*

I. By the constitution of Solon, as we have already remarked, only the first three classes were required to serve as soldiers. The citizens of the first and second classes served as cavalry, or as commanders of the infantry; those of the third class formed the heavy-armed infantry. The *Thetes* served either as light-armed troops on land or on board the ships. The same general principles remained when the constitution was remodelled by Clisthenes. The cavalry service continued to be compulsory on the wealthier class.[1] All citizens qualified to serve either as horsemen or in the ranks of the heavy-armed infantry, were enrolled in a list called *κατάλογος*. Hence they were called *οἱ ἐκ καταλόγου στρατεύοντες*, and the Thetes *οἱ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου*. Those, again, who were exempted by their age from military service, are called by Demosthenes *οἱ ὑπὲρ τὸν κατάλογον*. It appears to have been the duty of the generals (*στρατηγοί*) to make out the list of persons liable to service, in which duty they were probably assisted by the demarchi, and sometimes by the *βουλευταί*.

II. Every citizen was liable to service from his eighteenth to his sixtieth year. On reaching their eighteenth year, the young citizens were formally enrolled *εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, and received a shield and spear in a public assembly of the people, binding themselves by oath to perform rightly the duties of a citizen and soldier.[2] During the first two years they were only liable to service in Attica itself, chiefly as garrison soldiers in the different fortresses in the country. During this period they were called *περίπολοι*.[3]

III. The levies were made under the direction of the generals. The soldiers were selected either according to age, as among the Spartans, or else according to a certain rotation. The services of those below or above the ordinary military age were only called for on emergencies, or for guarding the walls.[4] Members of the senate during the period of their office, farmers of the revenue, choreutæ at the Dionysia during the festival, and, in later times, traders by

[1] *Xen., Œcon.*, ii., 6.
[2] *Aristot. ap. Harpocrat.*, p. 21.
[3] *Harpocrat., s. v.; Pollux*, viii., 105.
[4] *Thucyd.*, i., 105; ii., 13.

sea also, were exempted from military service.[1] Any one, on the other hand, bound to serve, who attempted to avoid doing so, was liable to a sentence of *atimia*. The resident aliens commonly served as heavy-armed soldiers, especially for the purpose of garrisoning the city. They were prohibited from serving as cavalry. Slaves were only employed as soldiers in cases of great necessity, as at Marathon[2] and Arginusæ.[3]

2. *Military Organization.*

I. Of the details of the Athenian military organization we have no distinct accounts, as we have of those of Sparta. The heavy-armed troops, as was the usual practice in Greece, fought in phalanx-order. They were arranged in bodies in a manner dependent on the political divisions of the citizens. The soldiers of each tribe formed a separate body in the army, also called a tribe, and these bodies stood in some preconcerted order.[4] It seems that the name of one division was τάξις, and of another λόχος, but in what relation these stood to the φυλή, and to each other, we do not learn, unless Xenophon's expressions[5] may be looked upon as indicating that the τάξις contained four λόχοι, and consisted of one hundred men. Every heavy-armed soldier was accompanied by an attendant (ὑπηρέτης) to take charge of his baggage, and to carry his shield on a march. Each horseman also had a servant, called ἱπποκόμος, to attend to his horse.

II. It would appear that, before the time of Solon, the cavalry which the Athenians could muster was under one hundred. In the time of Cimon it was three hundred, and, soon after, six hundred.[6] At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war it was twelve hundred, of whom two hundred seem to have been hired Scythian bowmen.

III. Besides the light-armed soldiers drawn from the ranks of the poorer citizens, there was at Athens a regiment of Scythian or Thracian slaves, armed with bows. The number of these increased from three hundred, who were purchased after the battle of Salamis, to one thousand or twelve hundred. These, however, were generally employed as a sort of police or city guard, and have already been referred to by us under the general appellation of Scythians or archers. Besides these, however, the Athenians had a troop of bowmen of their own citizens, amounting at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war to sixteen hundred.[7]

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[1] *Lycurg., Leocr.*, 164. [2] *Paus.*, i., 32, 33. [3] *Xen., Hellen.*, i., 6, 17.
[4] *Herod.*, vi., 111; *Plut., Arist.*, 5; *Xen., Hellen.*, iv., 2, 19.
[5] *Cyrop.*, ii., 1, 4. [6] *Andoc., de pace*, p. 92. [7] *Thuc.*, ii., 13.

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3. *Officers.*

I. For the command of the army there were chosen every year ten generals (*στρατηγοί*) and ten taxiarchs (*ταξίαρχοι*). The smaller divisions of the army were commanded by lochāgi (*λοχαγοί*) and other inferior officers. The *περίπολοι*, or frontier guard, had their own *περιπόλαρχοι*. The cavalry were commanded by their own hipparchs (*ἵππαρχοι*), of whom two were chosen annually, and by ten phylarchs (*φύλαρχοι*), subject, however, in both instances, to the control of the strategi. We will enter into a few details here respecting the strategi and taxiarchi.

(A.) STRATEGI.

II. The *Strategi* at Athens were instituted after the remodelling of the constitution by Clisthenes, to discharge the duties which had in former times been performed either by the king or the archon polemarch. They were ten in number, one for each of the ten tribes, and were chosen by the suffrages (*χειροτονία*) of the people.[1] Before entering on their duties, they were required to submit to a *δοκιμασία*, or examination of their character,[2] and no one was eligible to the office unless he had legitimate children, and was possessed of landed property in Attica.[3] They were, as their name denotes, intrusted with the command on military expeditions, with the superintendence of all warlike preparations, and with the regulation of all matters in any way connected with the war department of the state.

III. They levied and enlisted the soldiers either personally or with the assistance of the taxiarchs.[4] They were intrusted with the collection and management of the *εἰσφοραί*, or property-taxes raised for the purposes of war; and also presided over, or officiated as *εἰσαγωγεῖς* in the courts of justice in which any disputes connected with this subject or the trierarchy were decided.[5] They also nominated from year to year persons to serve as trierarchs.[6] They presided likewise at courts martial, and at accusations for non-performance of military and naval duties. They had the power, moreover, of convening extraordinary assemblies of the people in cases of emergency.

IV. But their most important trust was the command in war, and it depended upon circumstances to how many of the number it was given. At Marathon all the ten were present, and the chief

[1] *Pollux*, viii., 87. [2] *Lys. c. Alcib.*, 144. [3] *Dinarch. c. Demosth.*, 99.
[4] *Lys. c. Alcib.*, 140. [5] *Wolf, ad Lept.*, p. 94. [6] *Dem. c. Bœot.*, i., 997.

command came to each of them in turn. The archon polemarch also was there associated with them, and, according to the ancient custom, his vote in a council of war was equal to that of any of the generals.[1] In most cases, however, they were not all sent out, but some of them were left at home, in charge of the war department there. In the best times of Athens, three only were for the most part sent out, one of whom was considered as the commander-in-chief, though his colleagues had an equal voice in the council of war. Sometimes a strategus, like Pericles, was vested with extraordinary powers.[2]

V. In the times of Chabrias and Phocion, however, the greater part of the generals regularly remained at home, to conduct the processions, &c., as the citizens did to enjoy them, leaving their wars to be conducted by mercenaries and their leaders.[3] Some of them, too, were not commanders of all the troops, but only of the horse and foot of separate armies; and one of them, the general of the administration (*ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*), performed part of the judicial labors of the strategi, and other civil services, such as that of giving out the pay of the troops. We must also remember that the Athenian navy as well as the army was commanded by the strategi, whence the "*prætoria navis*," or flag-ship, is called *στρατηγὶς ναῦς*.[4]

The strategi at Athens were perhaps the most important officers of the republic, especially during war; and among them are numbered some of her most distinguished citizens, Miltiades, Themistocles, Pericles, Phocion, &c. But the generals of the early times differed in many respects from the contemporaries of Demosthenes. Formerly the general and the statesman were united in one person; the leader in the field was the leader in the assembly, and thus acquired a double influence, accompanied with a double responsibility. But in later times, the general and the professed orator or statesman were generally perfectly distinct,[5] and the latter, as ought always to be the case in free states, had by far the greater influence. The last of the Athenian generals who was considered to unite the two characters was Phocion, who was general no less than forty-five times.[6]

Accordingly, the various parties into which the state was then divided had each their orator and general, the former acting as a recognized leader;[7] and a general, when absent on foreign expeditions, was liable to be maligned or misrepresented to the people by an unfriendly and influential demagogue.[8] Hence we can not wonder that the generals of the age of Demosthenes were neither so patriotic nor so distinguished as those of

[1] *Herod.*, vi., 109.
[2] *Thucyd.*, ii., 65.
[3] *Demosth., Phil.*, i., 47, 12.
[4] *Hermann, Lehrbuch der gr. Staatsalt.*, § 152.
[5] *Isocr., de Pace*, 173.
[6] *Plut., Phoc.*, 5.
[7] *Demosth., Olynth*, ii., 26.
[8] *Id., de Cherson.*, 97, 12.

former times, more especially when we call to mind that they were often the commanders of mercenary troops and not of citizens, whose presence might have checked or animated them. Moreover, they suffered in moral character by the contamination of the mercenary leaders with whom they were associated. The necessity they were under of providing their hired soldiers with pay, habituated them to the practice of levying exactions from the allies; the sums thus levied were not strictly accounted for, and what should have been applied to the service of the state was frequently spent by men like Chares upon their own pleasures, or in the purchase of a powerful orator.[1]

(B.) TAXIARCHI.

VI. The *Taxiarchi*, as we have remarked, were ten in number, like the strategi, and ranked next to them. There was one for each tribe, and they were elected in the same way as the strategi, namely, by *χειροτονία*.[2] In war each commanded the infantry of his own tribe,[3] and they were frequently called to assist the strategi with their advice at the war council.[4] In peace they assisted the strategi in levying and enlisting soldiers, and they seem to have also aided the latter in the discharge of many of their other duties. The taxiarchs were so called from their commanding *τάξεις*, which were the principal divisions of the hoplites or heavy-armed in the Athenian army. Each tribe formed a *τάξις*, and as there were ten tribes, there were, consequently, in a complete Athenian army, ten *τάξεις*, but the number of men contained in each would of course vary according to the importance of the war. Among the other Greeks, the *τάξις* was the name of a much smaller division of troops. The *λόχος* among the Athenians was a subdivision of the *τάξις*, and the *λοχαγοί* were probably appointed by the taxiarchs.[5]

4. *Military Pay.*

The practice of paying the troops when upon service was first introduced by Pericles.[6] The pay consisted partly of wages (*μισθός*), partly of provisions, or more commonly provision-money (*σιτηρέσιον*). The ordinary *μισθός* of a hoplite was two oboli a day. The *σιτηρέσιον* amounted to two oboli more. Hence the life of a soldier was called proverbially *τετρωβόλου βίος*.[7] Higher pay, however, was sometimes given, as at the siege of Potidæa, where the soldiers received two drachmæ apiece, one for themselves, the other for their

[1] *Thirlwall, Hist. Gr.*, vol. v., p. 214.
[2] *Dem., Philipp.*, i., p. 47; *Pollux*, viii., 87.
[3] *Dem. c. Bœot.*, p. 999.
[4] *Thucyd.*, vii., 60.
[5] *Schömann, Ant. Jur. Publ. Gr.*, p. 253, *seqq.*
[6] *Ulpian, ad Dem., περὶ Συντάξ.*, p. 50, *a.*
[7] *Eustath. ad Od.*, p. 1405; *ad Il.*, p. 951.

attendants. This doubtless included the provision-money.[1] Officers received twice as much; horsemen, three times; generals, four times as much.[2] The horsemen received pay even in time of peace, that they might always be in readiness, and also a sum of money for their outfit (*κατάστασις*).[3]

5. *Arms, &c.*

I. The infantry was composed of heavy-armed soldiers or hoplites (*ὁπλῖται*), and light-armed (*ψιλοί, γυμνοί*). The *πανοπλία* of the heavy-armed consisted of a helmet, coat of mail, large shield, greaves, spear, and sword. These have already been described in our account of the Homeric armor. It may be added here, however, that Iphicrates made many improvements in armor about 400 B.C., and, in particular, doubled the length of the sword, which before was very short, so that an iron sword, found in a tomb at Athens, and represented by Dodwell, was two feet five inches long, including the handle, which was also of iron. The Roman sword, on the other hand, as was the case, also, with their other offensive weapons, was larger, heavier, and more formidable than the Greek.

II. The light-armed soldiers, instead of being defended by the shield and cuirass or coat of mail, had only a slight covering for their bodies, sometimes consisting of skin, and sometimes of leather or cloth. Instead, moreover, of the sword and spear, they commonly fought with darts, stones, bows and arrows, or slings.

III. Besides, however, the heavy and light armed soldiers, another description of men, the *Peltastæ* (*πελτασταί*), also formed part of a Grecian army. They were so called from the kind of shield which they used (*pelta*, *πέλτη*), and do not appear to have existed in early times. We hear very little of them before the end of the Peloponnesian war. The first time we have any mention of them is in Thucydides, where they are spoken of as being in the army of Brasidas. The *pelta*, from which they derived their name, was much smaller and lighter than the clypeus. It consisted principally of a frame of wood or wicker-work, covered with skin or leather, without the *antyx* or metallic rim. It was of various forms, round, quadrangular, &c.

IV. With the more frequent employment of mercenary troops, a greater degree of attention was bestowed upon the peltastæ; and the Athenian general Iphicrates introduced some important improvements in the mode of arming them, combining, as far as possible, the peculiar advantages of heavy and light armed troops. He sub-

[1] *Thucyd.*, iii., 17. [2] *Comp. Xen., Anab.*, vii., 6, 1, 3. [3] *Xen., Hipparch.*, i., 19.

stituted a linen corslet for the coat of mail worn by the hoplites, and doubled the length of the spear and sword. He even took the pains to introduce for them an improved sort of shoe, called after him Ἰφικρατίδες.[1] This equipment was very commonly adopted by mercenary troops, and proved very effective. The almost total destruction of a mora of Lacedæmonian heavy-armed troops by a body of peltastæ under the command of Iphicrates was an exploit that became very famous.[2] The peltast style of arming was general among the Achæans until Philopœmen again introduced heavy armor.

6. *Arrangement of Troops, &c.*

I. When the use of mercenary troops became general, Athenian citizens seldom served except as volunteers, and then but in small numbers. Thus we find ten thousand mercenaries sent to Olynthus with only four hundred Athenians.[3] With fifteen thousand mercenaries sent against Philip to Chæronea, there were two thousand citizens.[4] It became not uncommon, also, for those bound to serve in the cavalry, to commute their services for those of horsemen hired in their stead.

II. The employment of mercenaries also led, in other respects, to considerable alterations in the military system of Greece. War came to be studied as an art, and Greek generals, rising above the old simple rules of warfare, became tacticians. The old method of arranging the troops, a method still retained by Agesilaus at the battle of Coronea, was to draw up the opposing armies in two parallel lines of greater or less depth, according to the strength of the forces, the engagement commencing usually very nearly at the same moment in all parts of the line. The genius of Epaminondas introduced a complete revolution in the military system. He was the first who adopted the method of charging in column, concentrating his attack on one point of the hostile line, so as to throw the whole line into confusion by breaking through it.

7. *Macedonian Tactics, &c.*

I. Philip, king of Macedonia, is sometimes spoken of by Greek writers as the inventor of the phalanx. It is probable enough that he was the first to introduce that mode of organization into the army of Macedonia, and that he made several improvements in its arms and arrangements, but the phalanx certainly was not invented by him. The spear (σάρισσα or σάρισα) with which the soldiers of the

[1] *Pollux*, vii., 89.
[2] *Xen., Hellen.*, iv., 5, 11.
[3] *Demosth., de Fals. Leg.*, p. 425.
[4] *Id., de Cor.*, p. 306.

Macedonian phalanx were armed was ordinarily twenty-four feet long,[1] and the lines were arranged at such distances that the spears of the fifth rank projected three feet beyond the first, so that every man in the front rank was protected by five spears. The men in the ranks farther back rested their spears on the shoulders of those in front of them, inclining them upward, in which position they, to some extent at least, arrested the missiles that might be hurled by the enemy. Besides the spear they carried a short sword. The shield was very large, and covered nearly the whole body, so that on favorable ground an impenetrable front was presented to the enemy. The soldiers were also defended by helmets, coats of mail, and greaves, so that any thing like rapid movement was impossible.

II. When the phalanx was in dense battle array (*πύκνωσις* or *πυκνότης*), three feet were allowed for each man, and in this position their shields touched (*συνασπισμός*).[2] Such is the account of Polybius; Ælian, however, gives one and a half feet for the *συνασπισμός* On a march six feet were allowed for each man. The ordinary depth of the phalanx was sixteen, though depths of eight and of thirty-two are also mentioned. Each file of sixteen was called *λόχος*. The normal number of the whole phalanx was sixteen thousand three hundred and eighty-four. It was composed of four *phalangarchiæ*, or phalanxes in the narrower sense of the word, each amounting to four thousand and ninety-six men. In the army of Alexander, however, the main phalanx amounted to eighteen thousand, and consisted, not of four, but of six divisions, each named after a Macedonian province from which it was to derive its recruits. The phalanx of Antiochus contained sixteen thousand men, and was formed into ten divisions, of sixteen hundred each, arranged fifty broad and thirty-two deep.[3]

III. The Macedonian phalanx altered its form with great difficulty. If an attack on the flanks or rear was apprehended, a separate front was formed in that direction, if possible, before the commencement of the fight. Such a double phalanx, with two fronts in opposite directions, was called *φάλαγξ ἀμφίστομος*. To guard against being taken in flank, the line was bent round, forming what was called *ἐπικάμπιος τάξις*. The cavalry or light troops were not unfrequently employed for this purpose, or to protect the rear. Respecting the relative advantages and disadvantages of the Roman legion and the phalanx, there is an instructive passage in Polybius.[4] The phalanx, of course, became all but useless if its ranks were broken. It re-

[1] *Polyb.*, xviii., 12; *Ælian, Tact.*, 14.
[2] *Polyb., l. c.*; *Ælian, l. c.*
[3] *Appian., Syr.*, 32; *Liv.*, xxxviii., 40.
[4] *Polyb.*, xviii., 12. Compare xii., 19, &c.

quired, therefore, open and level ground, so that its operations were restricted to very narrow limits; and, being incapable of rapid movement, it became almost helpless in the face of an active enemy unless accompanied by a sufficient number of cavalry and light troops.

IV. The light-armed troops in the Macedonian army were arranged in files (λόχοι) eight deep. Four lochi formed a σύστασις, and then larger divisions were successively formed, each being the double of the one below it; the largest, called ἐπίταγμα, consisting of eight thousand one hundred and ninety-two men. The cavalry, according to Ælian, were arranged in an analogous manner, the lowest division or squadron (ἴλη) containing sixty-four men, and the successive larger divisions being each the double of that below it, the highest (ἐπίταγμα) containing four thousand and ninety-six.

V. Both Philip and Alexander attached great importance to the cavalry, which, in their armies, consisted partly of Macedonians and partly of Thessalians. The Macedonian horsemen were the flower of the young nobles. They amounted to about twelve hundred in number, forming eight squadrons, and, under the name of ἑταιροι, formed a sort of body-guard for the king. The Thessalian cavalry consisted chiefly of the élite of the wealthier class, but included also a number of Grecian youth from other states. There was also a guard of foot-soldiers (ὑπασπισταί), whom we find greatly distinguishing themselves in the campaigns of Alexander. They seem to have been identical with the πεζέταιροι, of whom we also find mention. They amounted to about three thousand men, arranged in six battalions. There was also a troop called *Argyraspides*, from the silver plates with which their shields were covered. They were picked men, and held in high honor by Alexander. They seem to have been a species of peltastæ.

VI. Alexander also organized a kind of troops called διμάχαι, who were something intermediate between cavalry and infantry, being designed to fight on horseback or on foot, as circumstances required. It is in the time of Alexander the Great, moreover, that we first meet with artillery in the train of a Grecian army. His *balistæ* and *catapultæ* were frequently employed with great effect, as, for instance, at the passage of the Iaxartes.[1] After the invasion of Asia, also, elephants began to be employed in connection with Grecian armies.

8. *Manner of making Peace, declaring War, &c.*

I. Before the Greeks engaged in war, it was usual to demand sat-

[1] *Arrian*, iv., 4, 7.

isfaction for injuries by means of ambassadors. These ambassadors were either sent with a limited commission, which they were not to exceed, or with full powers to act according to the best of their judgment, whence the latter were called *πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορες, plenipotentiaries.*

II. Their leagues were of three sorts: 1. *Σπονδαί, συνθήκη,* or *εἰρήνη,* whereby both parties were obliged to cease from all acts of hostility, and neither to molest one another, nor the confederates of either. 2. *Ἐπιμαχία,* or defensive alliance, whereby they obliged themselves to assist one another in case either should be invaded. 3. *Συμμαχία,* an alliance offensive and defensive, whereby they covenanted to assist one another, as well when they made attacks upon others as when they were themselves attacked, and to have the same friends and enemies.

III. Their manner of declaring war was, after having propitiated the gods, to send a herald, who bade the persons that had injured them prepare for an invasion, and who sometimes, in token of defiance, hurled a spear toward them. The herald generally bore the *κηρύκειον,* or herald's wand.[1] Nothing, however, could induce the Greeks to march except on those days which they considered fortunate. Thus the Lacedæmonians were forbidden by their laws ever to march before the full moon. An eclipse of the moon, or any other unlucky accident, was sufficient to deter them altogether from entering on an expedition.

9. *Camps, Guards, Watches, &c.*

I. Nothing certain is known of the form of the Grecian camps in general, although the Lacedæmonians are said to have been ordered by their lawgiver to make them of a spherical figure, as best fitted for defence. The most valiant soldiers were placed at the extremities of the camp, the rest in the middle. When they intended to continue long in their encampments, they set apart a place where altars were erected, and religious services regularly performed. They also, if there was any danger of an attack, fortified their camp with a ditch and a wall, having turrets, out of which they annoyed their enemies with missive weapons.

II. Their guards may be distinguished into *φυλακαὶ ἡμεριναί* and *νυκτεριναί,* the first being on duty by day, the latter by night. At several hours in the night, certain officers, called *περίπολοι,* walked round the camp and visited the watches, carrying with them a bell (*κώδων*), at the sound of which the soldiers were to answer. The

[1] *Herod.*, ix., 100.

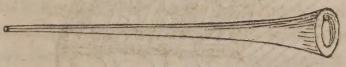
Lacedæmonians had two guards, one within their camp, the other on some eminence without. Their watches were not permitted to have their bucklers, in order that, being unable to defend themselves, they might be the more cautious how they fell asleep. The rest of the Spartan soldiers slept in their armor. It is not known how often the guards were relieved.

10. *The Battle, &c.*

I. Sacrifices were first offered to the gods, and the entrails of the victims inspected. Nothing would induce Greek soldiers to engage until the omens were favorable. When this proved to be the case, a battle-song or pæan was sung to Mars, called *παιὰν ἐμβατήριος*.[1] After a victory another one was sung, termed *παιὰν ἐπινίκιος*, generally but not always to Apollo.[2]

II. The signals were commonly divided into *σύμβολα* and *σημεῖα*. 1. The *σύμβολα* were of two kinds, either *φωνικά*, *pronounced by the voice*, or *ὁρᾱτά*, *visible to the eye*. The former are termed *συνθήματα*, the latter *παρασυνθήματα*. The *watchword*, *σύνθημα*, was communicated by the general to the subordinate officers, and by them to the whole army, as a means of distinguishing friends from enemies. It commonly contained some good omen, or consisted of the name of some deity. The *παρασύνθημα*, on the other hand, was a visible character of distinction, such as the waving of hands, clashing of weapons, and the like. 2. The *σημεῖα* were ensigns or flags, the elevation of which was a signal to join battle, and the lowering of them one to desist. Some of these standards were adorned with figures, bearing peculiar relation to the cities to which they belonged. Thus the Athenians bore an owl on their ensigns; the Thebans a sphinx, &c. Among the Spartans, the signal for attack in early times was given by priests of Mars, called *πυρφόροι*, who threw lighted torches into the interval between the two armies.

III. The instrument principally used in war was the trumpet or *σάλπιγξ*, commonly of bronze, of a long, straight form, gradually increasing in diameter, and terminating in a bell-shaped aperture, as is seen in the following cut.



The Spartans, as we have already remarked, marched to battle, not by the trumpet, but by the music of flutes, and sometimes, also,

[1] *Schol. ad Thucyd.*, i., 50.

[2] *Bode, Gesch. der lyrisch. Dichtk.*, &c., vol. i., p. 9, *seqq.*

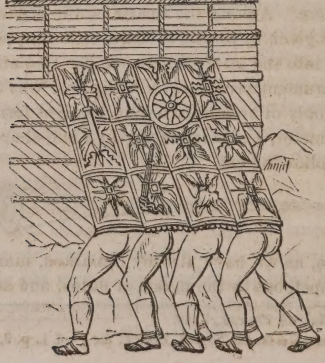
of the lyre and cithara, which gave them a rhythmical regularity of movement. The rest of the Greeks, however, rushed furiously on, and in the beginning of their onset gave a general shout, called ἀλαλαγμός, from the soldiers repeating ἀλαλή (Doric ἀλαλά).

11. *Sieges and Military Engines.*

I. When the Greeks attempted to make themselves masters of a town or fortress, it was usual first to attempt it by storm, surrounding it with their whole army, and attacking it in all quarters at once. This was called sometimes σαγηνεύειν, literally, "to inclose with a net." If this failed, they either abandoned the enterprise or prepared for a siege.

II. When they designed to lay close siege to a place, the first thing attended to was the ἀποτειχισμός or περιτειχισμός, constructing "works of circumvallation," which sometimes consisted of a double row or rampart; the interior fortification being designed to prevent sudden and unexpected sallies from the besieged place, and the exterior (or line of contravallation) to secure the besiegers against attacks from without, on the part of those who might come to the relief of the besieged.

III. Of military engines the principal kinds were as follows: 1. Χελώνη, the *Testudo* or tortoise, so called from covering and sheltering the soldiers, as a tortoise is covered by its shell. It was a sort of pent-house, so placed as to protect the soldiers in filling



ditches, casting up mounds, undermining walls, and working the ram.[1] There was also a sort called *χελώνη στρατιωτῶν*, formed by the shields of the soldiers, drawn up close to one another (the hindermost ranks stooping), and placing their shields above their heads, so as to form a sloping roof. This invention was used principally in attacking cities; the stones and missiles thrown upon the shields rolled off from them like water from a roof; besides which, other soldiers frequently advanced upon them to attack the enemy upon the walls.[2] The opposite cut will give some idea of such an arrangement. 2. Χῶμα, the *agger*, or mound, which was raised so high as to equal, if not exceed, the top of the besieged walls. The sides were walled in with brick or stone, or secured with long rafters, to hinder them from falling; the forepart only, being by degrees to be advanced nearer the walls, remained bare. The pile itself consisted of all sorts of materials, as earth, timber, boughs, &c. 3. Πύργοι, or *movable* towers of wood, driven upon wheels, which were fixed within the bottom planks to secure them from the enemy. The front was usually covered with raw hides and other materials to preserve them from fire-balls and missive weapons generally, as were also their tops. They were divided into stories. The sides were pierced with windows, of which there were several to each story. The use of the stories was to receive the engines of war. They contained balistæ and catapults, and slingers and archers were stationed both within the towers and on their tops. In the lowest story was the battering ram; and in the middle, one or more bridges, made of beams and planks, and protected at the sides by hurdles. Scaling ladders were also carried in the towers, and when the missiles had cleared the walls, these bridges and ladders enabled the besiegers to rush upon them. Sometimes the towers were so made that they could be taken to pieces and carried to the scene of operations: these were called folding towers (*πύργοι πτύκτοι* or *ἐπτυγμένοι*) or portable towers (*πύργοι φορητοί*). 4. Κριός, the *ram*, was an engine with an iron head, called in Greek *ἐμβολή* or *κεφαλή*, and resembling a ram's head, with which they battered walls. Of this there were three kinds. The first was a long beam with an iron head, which the soldiers drove by main force against the wall. The second was hung with ropes to another beam, by the help of which ropes they thrust it forward with much greater force. The third differed from the former only in being covered with a species of pent-house, or *χελώνη*, to protect the soldiers. The beam was sometimes one hundred and twenty feet long, and covered with iron

[1] *Vitruv.*, x., 19. [2] *Dion Cass.*, xlix., 30.

plates to defend it from fire. 5. Καταπέλται, or *catapultæ*, to project large darts. 6. Πετροβόλοι, or *balistæ*, to shoot large stones. The catapult was long; the balista nearly square. Three sizes of balistæ are mentioned by historians, viz., that which threw stones weighing half a hundred weight,[1] a whole hundred weight,[2] and three hundred weight.[3] In like manner, catapultæ were distinguished according to the length of the arrows discharged from them.

12. *Manner of repelling the Besiegers.*

The walls were guarded with soldiers, who, with all sorts of missiles, assaulted the invaders. The mines of the besiegers were met by counter mines; their mounds were destroyed by undermining the foundations; the engines were burned by fire-balls; the heads of the battering rams were broken off by large stones let fall from the walls, or huge beams suspended by chains and dropped on them; or the ropes by which the rams were worked were cut with long scythes. The besieged likewise defended themselves with skins, wool-packs, and other things likely to ward off stones and other missiles. If there remained no hope of defending their walls, they sometimes raised new ones within.

13. *Of the Slain and their Obsequies.*

It was looked upon as an act of the greatest impiety not to allow a conquered enemy to bury their dead. So sacred, in fact, was this duty esteemed, that the party who happened not to be in possession of the field, always sent a herald to the other party, requesting a truce for the purpose of interring the slain, although by so doing they renounced all pretensions to the victory. The soldiers all attended the funeral solemnities with their arms reversed. The tombs of the slain were adorned with inscriptions showing their names, and sometimes their parentage and exploits. Their arms were also fixed upon their tombs.

14. *Of the Booty, Trophies, &c.*

I. The booty consisted of prisoners and spoils. The prisoners who could not ransom themselves were made slaves, and either employed in the service of the conquerors or sold. Before the spoils were divided or sold, as the case might be, an offering was made out of them to the gods. It was an almost invariable custom, after the happy issue of a war, to dedicate the tenth part of the spoil to the gods, generally in the form of some work of art. Sometimes

[1] *Polyb.*, ix., 34. [2] *Non. Marc.*, p. 552, ed. *Merceri.* [3] *Diod. Sic.*, xx., 48.

magnificent specimens of armor, such as a fine sword, helmet, or shield, were set apart as offerings for the gods. The more primitive fashion had been to form the spoils into a heap, and to consecrate the *top of the heap* to the gods; hence *ἀκροθίνιον*, the first fruits of the booty, because taken *ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ θινός*.

II. *Trophies* (*τρόπαια*, *Att.* *τροπαῖα*)[1] were a sign and memorial of history, erected on the fields of battle, where the army had turned (*τρέπω*, *τροπή*) to flight, and in case of a victory gained at sea, on the nearest land. When the battle was not decisive, or each party thought it had some claim to the victory, both erected trophies.[2] A trophy was composed of all sorts of arms, taken from the enemy, hung on the trunk of a tree, with an inscription stating the name of the god to whom it was dedicated, the names of the victors, number of the vanquished,[3] &c. Hence trophies were regarded as inviolable, which not even the enemy were permitted to remove.[4] Sometimes, however, a people destroyed a trophy if they considered that the enemy had erected it without sufficient cause. In order that rankling and hostile feelings might not be perpetuated by the continuance of a trophy, it seems to have been originally part of Greek international law that trophies should be made only of wood, and

[1] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Plut.*, 453.
[2] *Thucyd.*, i., 54.
[3] *Eurip., Phœn.*, 583; *Schol. ad loc.*
[4] *Dion Cass.*, xlii., 58.

not of stone or metal, and that they should not be repaired when decayed.[1] It was not, however, uncommon to erect stone or metal trophies. Plutarch[2] mentions one raised in the time of Alcibiades, and Pausanias speaks of several which he saw in Greece.[3] The preceding wood-cut, taken from a painting found at Pompeii, contains a very good representation of a trophy which Victory is engaged in erecting. The conqueror stands on the other side of the trophy with his brows encircled with laurel. The Macedonian kings never erected trophies, being bound, it is said, by a law, observed from the reign of Caranus, one of whose trophies was destroyed by wolves. Hence Alexander raised no trophies after his victories over Darius in India.[4]

14. *Military Punishments and Rewards.*

I. The Greeks had no certain method of correcting their soldiers, but left that to the discretion of their commanders: only in some few cases the laws made provisions. For instance, *αὐτομόλοι, deserters*, suffered death: *ἀστράτευτοι, those who refused to serve in war; λειποτάκται, those who abandoned their ranks; δειλοί, cowards; ῥιψάσπιδες, those who lost their bucklers*, were at Athens neither permitted to wear garlands nor to enter the public temples, and were also amenable to the court of the Heliæa, where a fine might be imposed, and other punishment inflicted according to their deserts.

II. As rewards of valor, the private soldiers were invested with office, and the subordinate officers honored with higher commands. It was also customary for the general to reward with gifts those who had particularly signalized themselves. Sometimes crowns were presented, on which were inscribed the names and actions of the persons who had merited them. Some were honored with permission to raise pillars, with inscriptions declaring their victories. Some were presented with a full suit of armor (*πανοπλία*); others were praised in songs of triumph or in funeral speeches (*λόγοι ἐπιτάφιοι*). Those who lost any of their limbs in war (*ἀδύνατοι*) were maintained at the public expense, provided they had not an estate of three Attic minæ yearly. Their allowance was an obolus a day, according to some; but others mention two oboli, and others, again, nine drachmæ, or fifty-four oboli every month. The children of those who had lost their lives in defence of the state were educated at the public charge, and when they became of age were presented with a full suit of armor.

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[1] *Plut., Quæst. Rom.*, c. 37, p. 273, *c.*; *Diod. Sic.*, xiii., 24.
[2] *Vit. Alcib.*, 29, p. 207, *d.* [3] *Pausan.*, ii., 21, § 9; iii., 14, § 7. [4] *Id.*, ix., 40, § 4.

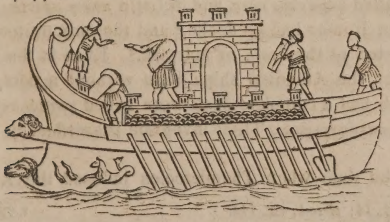
CHAPTER XXIII.

NAVAL AFFAIRS.

1. *Progress of the Art of Navigation, &c.*

I. We have already spoken of Homeric times. After the period of the Trojan war, navigation, and with it the art of ship-building, must have become greatly improved on account of the establishment of the numerous colonies on foreign coasts, and the increased commercial intercourse with these colonies and other foreign countries. The practice of piracy, which was, during this period, carried on to a great extent, not only between Greeks and foreigners, but also among the Greeks themselves, must likewise have contributed to the improvement of ships and of navigation, although no particulars are mentioned. In Greece itself the Corinthians were the first who brought the art of ship-building nearest to the point at which we find it in the time of Thucydides, and they were the first who introduced ships with three ranks of rowers (*τριήρεις*, *triremes*). About the year 700 B.C., Ameinocles the Corinthian, to whom this invention is ascribed, made the Samians acquainted with it;[1] but it must have been preceded by that of the *biremes* (*δίκροτα*), or ships with two ranks of rowers, which Pliny attributes to the Erythræans.

II. These innovations, however, do not seem to have been generally adopted for a long time; for we read that about the time of Cyrus the Phocæans introduced long, sharp-keeled ships, called *πεντηκόντοροι*.[2] These belonged to the class of long war-ships (*νῆες μακραί*), and had fifty rowers, twenty-five on each side of the ship, who sat in one row. It is farther stated, that before this time vessels called *στρογγύλαι*, with large round, or rather flat bottoms, had



[1] *Thucyd.*, i., 13; *Plin.*, *H. N.*, vii., 57. [2] *Herod.*, i., 163.

been used exclusively by all the Ionians in Asia. At this period, most Greeks seem to have adopted the long ships with only one rank of rowers on each side. Their name varied, accordingly as they had fifty (*πεντηκόντοροι*), or thirty (*τριακόντοροι*), or even a smaller number of rowers. A ship of war of this class is represented in the preceding wood-cut, taken from Montfaucon.

The following wood-cut contains a beautiful fragment of a bireme with a complete deck.

III. The first Greek people whom we know to have acquired a navy of importance were the Corinthians, Samians, and Phocæans. About the time of Cyrus and Cambyses, the Corinthian triremes were generally adopted by the Sicilian tyrants, and by the Corcyræans, who soon acquired the most powerful navies among the Greeks. In other parts of Greece, and even at Athens and Ægina, the most common vessels about this time were long ships with only one rank of rowers on each side. Athens, although the foundation of her maritime power had been laid by Solon, did not obtain a fleet of any importance until the time of Themistocles, who persuaded his countrymen to build two hundred triremes for the purpose of carrying on the war against Ægina. But even then ships were not provided with complete decks (*καταστρώματα*) covering the whole of the vessel.[1] Ships with only a partial deck, or with no deck at all, were called *ἄφρακτοι νῆες*, and in Latin *naves apertæ*. The ships described in Homer had no decks,[2] and the only protection for the men consisted of the *ἴκρια* or bulwark.[3] Even at the time of the Persian war, the Athenian ships were without a complete deck.[4] Ships which had a complete deck were called *κατάφρακτοι*, and the deck itself *κατάστρωμα*. Their invention is ascribed by Pliny to the Thasians.

IV. At the time when Themistocles induced the Athenians to

[1] *Thucyd.*, i., 14; *Herod.*, vii., 144.
[2] *Thucyd.*, i., 10.
[3] *Hom., Od.*, xii., 229.
[4] *Thucyd.*, i., 14.

build a fleet of two hundred sail, he also carried a decree that every year twenty new triremes should be built from the produce of the mines of Laurium.[1] After the time of Themistocles, as many as twenty triremes must have been built every year both in times of war and of peace, as the average number of triremes which was always ready amounted to between three and four hundred. Such an annual addition was the more necessary, as the vessels were of a light structure and did not last long. The whole superintendence of the building of new triremes was in the hands of the senate of Five Hundred,[2] but the actual business was intrusted to a committee called the *τριηροποιοί*, one of whom acted as their treasurer, and had in his keeping the money set apart for this purpose. During the period after Alexander the Great, the Attic navy appears to have become considerably diminished, as in 307 B.C. Demetrius Poliorcetes promised the Athenians timber for one hundred new triremes.[3] After this time the Rhodians became the greatest maritime power in Greece.

V. Navigation remained for the most part what it had been before. The Greeks seldom ventured out into the open sea, and it was generally considered necessary to remain in sight of the coast or of some island, which also served as guides in the day-time. In the night, the position, rising and setting of the different stars, answered the same purpose. In winter, navigation generally ceased altogether. In cases where it would have been necessary to coast around a considerable extent of country, which was connected with the main land by a narrow neck, the ships were sometimes drawn across the neck of land from one sea to the other by machines called *ὁλκοί*. This was done most frequently across the Isthmus of Corinth.[4]

2. *Various kinds of Ships—Names of Vessels.*

I. The most convenient division of the various kinds of ships used by the Greeks is into *ships of war* and *ships of burden*. The latter kind (called *φορτικά*, *φορτηγοί*, *ὁλκάδες*, *πλοῖα*, *στρογγύλαι*) were not calculated for quick movement or rapid sailing, but to carry the greatest possible quantity of goods. Hence their structure was bulky, their bottom round, and though they were not without rowers, yet the chief means by which they were propelled were their sails.

II. The most common ships of war in the earlier times were

[1] *Böckh, Pub. Econ.*, p. 249, 2d ed. [2] *Demosth. c. Androt.*, p. 598.
[3] *Diod. Sic.*, xx., 46; *Plut., Demetr.*, 10. [4] *Herod.*, vii., 24; *Thucyd.*, viii., 1; iii., 15.

the *pentecontĕri* (*πεντηκόντεροι*), but afterward they were chiefly triremes, and the latter are frequently designated only by the name of *νῆες*, while all the others are called by the name indicating their peculiar character. Triremes, however, were again divided into two classes: the one consisting of real men-of-war, which were quick-sailing vessels (*ταχεῖαι*), and the other of transports either for soldiers (*στρατιώτιδες* or *ὁπλιταγωγοί*) or for horses (*ἱππηγοί*, *ἱππαγωγοί*). Ships of this class were more heavy and awkward, and were therefore not used in battle except in cases of necessity.[1]

III. The ordinary size of a war-galley may be inferred from the fact that the average number of men engaged in it, including the crew and marines, was two hundred. The marines were called *epibatæ* (*ἐπιβάται*), and were entirely distinct from the rowers, and also from the land soldiers.[2] The ordinary number of *epibatæ* on board a trireme was ten. The number of forty epibatæ to a ship mentioned by Herodotus, belongs to the earlier state of Greek naval tactics, when victory depended more on the number and prowess of the soldiers on board than on the manœuvres of the seamen; and it was in this very point that the Athenians improved the system by diminishing the number of epibatæ, and relying on the more skillful management of their vessels. The epibatæ were usually taken from the *Thetes* or from the lowest class of Athenian citizens.[3] But on one occasion, in a season of extraordinary danger, the citizens of the higher classes were compelled to serve as epibatæ.[4]

IV. The rapidity with which the war-galleys sailed may be gathered from various statements in ancient writers, and appears to have been so great, that even we can not help looking upon it with astonishment when we find that the speed of an ancient trireme nearly equalled that of a modern steamboat.

V. Vessels with more than three ranks of rowers on each side were not constructed in Greece till about the year 400 B.C., when Dionysius I., tyrant of Syracuse, who bestowed great care on his navy, built the first quadriremes (*τετρήρεις*), with which he had probably become acquainted through the Carthaginians, since the invention of these vessels is ascribed to them.[5] Up to this time no quinqueremes (*πεντήρεις*) had been built, and the invention of them is likewise ascribed to the reign of Dionysius. In the reign of Dionysius II., *hexēres* (*ἑξήρεις*) are also mentioned, the invention of which was ascribed to the Syracusans.[6] After the time of Alex-

[1] *Thucyd.*, i., 116. [2] *Xen.*, *Hell.*, i., 2, 7; v., 1, 11. [3] *Thucyd.*, vi., 42.
[4] *Id.*, viii., 24. [5] *Plin.*, *H. N.*, vii., 57; *Diod. Sic.*, xiv., 41.
[6] *Ælian*, *V. H.*, vi., 12; *Perizon.*, *ad loc.*

ander the Great, the use of vessels with four, five, and more ranks of rowers became very general, and it is well known from Polybius[1] that the first Punic war was chiefly carried on with quinqueremes. Ships with twelve, thirty, or even forty ranks of rowers, such as they were built by Alexander and the Ptolemies, appear to have been mere curiosities, and did not come into common use.

VI. The Athenians at first did not adopt vessels larger than triremes, probably because they thought that with rapidity and skill they could do more than with large and unwieldy ships. In the year B.C. 356 they continued to use nothing but triremes; but in 330 B.C. the republic had already a number of quadriremes, which was afterward increased. The first quinqueremes at Athens are mentioned in a document[2] belonging to the year B.C. 325. After the year 330 the Athenians appear to have gradually ceased building triremes, and to have constructed quadriremes instead.

VII. Among the smaller vessels we may mention the *ἄκατος* or *ἀκάτιον*, which seems to have been sometimes used as a ship of burden.[3] The *ἄκατος*, however, must generally have been very small. From Thucydides, with the remark of the Scholiast, we may infer that it was a small boat, in which every person sailing in it managed two oars, one with each hand. The *σκάφη* (*scapha*) was a small skiff or life-boat, which was commonly attached to merchantmen, for the purpose of saving the crew in time of danger.[4]

VIII. Every vessel at Athens, as in modern times, had a name given to it, which was generally of the feminine gender, whence Aristophanes calls the triremes *παρθένους*, and one vessel, the name of which was Nauphante, he calls the daughter of Nauso.[5] These names were either taken from ancient heroines, or they were abstract words, such as *Εὔπλοια*, *Θεραπεία*, *Πρόνοια*, *Σώζουσα*, *Ἡγεμόνη*, &c. In many cases the name of the builder was added.

3. *Principal parts of Vessels.*

I. We will now proceed to describe the principal parts of Greek vessels:

1. The *Prow* (*πρῶρα* or *μέτωπον*) was generally ornamented on both sides with figures, which were either painted upon the sides or laid in. It seems to have been very common to represent an eye on each side of the prow.[6] Upon the prow-deck there was always

[1] *Polyb.*, i., 63, &c.
[2] *Böckh, Urkunden*, N. xiv., litt. *K.*
[3] *Herod.*, vii., 186.
[4] *Act. Apost.*, xxvii., 30.
[5] *Aristoph., Eq.*, 1313; *Böckh, Urkunden*, p. 81, &c.
[6] *Böckh, Urkunden*, p. 102; *Becker, Charicles*, vol. ii., p. 60.

some emblem (*παρασημον*), by which the ship was distinguished from others. At the head of the prow there projected the *στόλος*, and its extremity was called *ἀκροστόλιον*, which was frequently made in the shape of an animal or a helmet. It appears to have been sometimes covered with brass, and to have served as an *ἐμβολή* against the enemy's vessels.[1] The *ἀκροστόλιον* is sometimes designated by the name of *χηνίσκος* (from *χήν*, "a goose"), because it was formed in the shape of the head or neck of a goose or swan, as is seen in the following wood-cut. It was often gilt, and made of bronze.[2]

Just below the prow was the *Beak* or *Rostrum* (*ἔμβολος*, *ἔμβολον*), which consisted of a beam, to which were attached sharp and pointed irons, or the head of a ram and the like. This *ἔμβολος* was used for the purpose of attacking another vessel, and of breaking its sides. It is said to have been invented by the Tyrrhenian Pisæans.[3] These beaks were at first always above the water and visible; afterward, however, they were attached lower, so that they were invisible, and thus became still more dangerous to other ships.[4] The opposite wood-cuts represent three different beaks of ships.

Connected with the *ἔμβολος* was the *προεμβολίς*, which, according to Pollux,[5] must have been a wooden part of the vessel in the prow above the beak, and was probably the same as the *ἐπωτίδες*, and intended to ward off the attack of the *ἔμβολος* of a hostile ship. The command in the prow of a vessel was exercised by an officer called *πρωρεύς*, who seems to have been next in rank to the steersman, and to have had the care of the gear, and the command over the rowers.[6]

[1] *Æschyl., Pers.*, 414.
[2] *Lucian, Ver. Hist.*, 41; *Jup. Trag.*, 14.
[3] *Plin., H. N.*, x., 32.
[4] *Diod. Sic.*, xi., 27; xiv., 60, 75.
[5] *Pollux*, i., 85.
[6] *Xen., Œcon.*, vii., 14.

2. The *Stern* (πρύμνη) was generally above the other parts of the deck, and in it the helmsman had his elevated seat. It is seen in the representation of ancient vessels to be rounder than the prow, though its extremity is likewise sharp. The stern was, like the prow, adorned in various ways, but especially with the image of the tutelary deity of the vessel. In some representations a kind of roof is formed over the head of the steersman, and the upper part of the stern frequently has an elegant ornament called ἄφλαστον, in Latin *aplustre*, which constituted the highest part of the poop. It formed a corresponding ornament to the ἀκροστόλιον at the prow. At the junction of the ἄφλαστον with the stern, on which it was based, we commonly observe an ornament resembling a circular shield. This was called ἀσπιδεῖον or ἀσπιδίσκη. The following wood-cut represents two ἄφλαστα, each with the circular ornament just referred to.

The ἄφλαστον rose immediately behind the steersman, and served in some degree to protect him from wind and rain. Sometimes there appears behind the ἄφλαστον a pole, to which a fillet or pennon (ταινία) was attached, which served both to distinguish and adorn

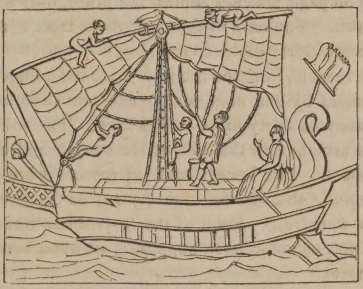
the vessel, and also to show the direction of the wind. The *ἄφλαστον* commonly consisted of thin planks, and presented a broad surface to the sky. In consequence of its conspicuous place and beautiful form, it was often taken as the emblem of maritime affairs. It was carried off in triumph by the victor in a naval engagement, and Neptune is sometimes represented on medals holding the *ἄφλαστον* in his right hand, as in the following wood-cut :

3. The *τράφηξ*, the bulwark of the vessel, or, rather, the uppermost edge of it.[1] In small boats the pegs (*σκαλμοί*, *scalmi*) between

[1] *Hesych., s. v.*

which the oars move, and to which they were fastened by a thong (*τροπωτήρ*), were upon the *τράφηξ*.[1] In all other vessels the oars passed through holes in the side of the vessel (*ὀφθαλμοί*, *τρήματα*, or *τρυπήματα*).[2]

4. The middle part of the deck in most ships of war appears to have been raised above the bulwark, or, at least, to a level with its upper edge, and thus enabled the soldiers to occupy a position from which they could see far around, and hurl their darts against the enemy. Such an elevated deck appears in the following wood-cut representing a *monēris*, or vessel with only one row of oars. In this instance the flag is standing upon the hind deck.



5. One of the most interesting as well as important points in the arrangement of the biremes, triremes, &c., is the position of the ranks of rowers, from which the ships themselves derived their names. Various opinions have been entertained by those who have written upon this subject, as the information which ancient writers give upon it is extremely scanty. Thus much, however, is certain, that the different ranks of rowers, who sat along the sides of a vessel, were placed one above the other. This seems at first sight very improbable, as the common ships in later times must have had five *ordines* of rowers on each side, and since even the lowest of them must have been somewhat raised above the surface of the water, the highest *ordo* must have been at a considerable height above it, and consequently required very long oars. The apparent improbability is still more increased when we hear of vessels with thirty or forty *ordines* of rowers above one another. But that such must have been the arrangement is proved by the following facts: First, in works of art, in which more than one *ordo* of rowers is represented,

[1] *Böckh, Urkund.*, p. 103. [2] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Acharn.*, 97, &c.

they appear above one another. Secondly, the Scholiast on Aristophanes[1] states that the lowest rank of rowers, having the shortest oars, and consequently the easiest work, received the smallest pay, while the highest rank had the longest oars, and consequently the heaviest work, and received the highest pay. Thirdly, in the monstrous τεσσαρακοντήρης of Ptolemæus Philopator, the height of the ship from the surface of the water to the top of the prow (ἀκροστόλιον) was forty-eight cubits, and from the water to the top of the stern (ἄφλαστα), fifty-three cubits. This height afforded sufficient room for forty ranks of rowers, especially as they did not sit perpendicularly above one another, but one rower, as in the representation of the bireme on page 268, sat behind the other, only somewhat elevated above him. The oars of the uppermost rank of rowers in this huge vessel were thirty-eight cubits long.[2]

In ordinary vessels, from the moneris up to the quinqueremis, each oar was managed by one man, which can not have been the case where each oar was thirty-eight cubits long. The rowers sat upon little benches attached to the ribs of the vessel, and called ἑδώλια, in Latin *transtra*. The lowest rank of rowers were called θαλαμῖται or θαλάμιοι,[3] the middle rank ζυγῖται or ζύγιοι,[4] and the uppermost rank θρανῖται.[5] Each of the ζυγῖται had likewise his own seat, and did not, as some have supposed, sit upon benches running across the vessel.[6]

Passing over the various things which were necessary in a vessel for the use and maintenance of the crew and soldiers, as well as the machines of war which were conveyed in it, we shall confine ourselves to a brief description of things belonging to a ship as such. All such utensils are divided into *wooden* and *hanging gear* (σκεύη ξύλινα and σκεύη κρεμαστά.[7] Xenophon[8] adds to these the σκεύη πλεκτά, or the various kinds of wicker-work, but these are more properly comprehended among the κρεμαστά.

1. Σκεύη ξύλινα.

1. *Oars* (κῶπαι). The collective term for oars is ταρρός, which properly signified nothing but the blade or flat part of the oar,[9] but was afterward used as a collective expression for all the oars with the exception of the rudder.[10] The oars varied in size according as

[1] *Acharn.*, 1106. Compare *Ran.*, 1105.
[2] *Athen.*, v., p. 203, *seqq.*
[3] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Acharn.*, 1106.
[4] *Pollux*, i., 9.
[5] *Thucyd.*, vi., 31.
[6] *Böckh, Urkund.*, p. 103, &c.
[7] *Pollux*, x., 13; *Athen.*, i., p. 27.
[8] *Œcon.*, viii., 12.
[9] *Herod.*, viii., 12; *Pollux.*, i., 90.
[10] *Eurip., Iph. Taur.*, 1346; *Polyb.*, xvi., 3.

they were used by a lower or higher rank of rowers, and from the name of the rank by which they were used they also received their special names, viz., *κῶπαι θαλάμιαι*, *ζύγιαι*, and *θρανίτιδες*. Böckh has calculated that each trireme, on an average, had one hundred and seventy rowers.[1] In a quinquereme, during the first Punic war, the average number of rowers was three hundred;[2] in later times we even find as many as four hundred. The great vessel of Ptolemy Philopator had four thousand rowers,[3] and the handle of each oar (*ἐγχειρίδιον*) was partly made of lead, in order that the shorter part in the vessel might balance in weight the outer part, and thus render the long oars manageable.

The lower part of the holes through which the oars passed appear to have been covered with leather (*ἄσκωμα*), which also extended a little way outside the hole.[4] The *ταρρός* also contained the *περίνεω*, which must consequently have been a particular kind of oars. They must have derived their name, like other oars, from the class of rowers by whom they were used. Böckh supposes that they were oars which were not regularly used, but only in case of need, and then by the *Epibatæ*. Their length in a trireme is stated at from nine to nine and a half cubits, but in what part of the vessel they were used is unknown.

2. The *Rudder* (*πηδάλιον*). Before the invention of the rudder, which Pliny ascribes to Tiphys, the pilot of the ship Argo,[5] vessels must have been propelled and guided by the oars alone. This circumstance may account for the form of the ancient rudder, as well

[1] *Urkund.*, p. 119.
[2] *Polyb.*, i., 26.
[3] *Athen.*, v., p. 204, &c.
[4] *Aristoph., Acharn.*, 97; *Schol. ad loc.*
[5] *Plin., H. N.*, vii., 57.

as for the mode of using it. It was like an oar with a very broad blade, and was commonly placed on each side of the stern, not at its extremity. The preceding wood-cut presents examples of its appearance as it is frequently exhibited on gems, coins, and other works of art. The figure in the centre shows a Triton blowing the *buccina*, and holding a rudder over his shoulder. The left-hand figure represents a rudder with its helm or tiller crossed by the cornucopia. In the third figure, Venus leans with her left arm upon a rudder, to indicate her origin from the sea.

The rudder was managed by the gubernator (*κυβερνήτης*). A ship had sometimes one, but more commonly two rudders,[1] and they were distinguished as the right and left rudder,[2] but they were managed by the same steersman to prevent confusion. In larger ships the two rudders were joined by a pole, which was moved by the gubernator, and kept the rudders parallel. The contrivances for attaching the two rudders to one another, and to the sides of the ship, are called *ζεῦγλαι*[3] or *ζευκτηρίαι*.[4] The famous ship of Ptolemy Philopator had four rudders, each thirty cubits in length.[5]

3. *Ladders* (*κλιμακίδες*). Each trireme had two wooden ladders, and the same seems to have been the case in the *τριακόντοροι*.[6]

4. *Poles* or punt poles (*κοντοί*). Every trireme was provided with three of these, which were of different lengths, and were accordingly distinguished as *κοντὸς μέγας*, *κοντὸς μικρός*, and *κοντὸς μέσος*. Triacontores had probably always four punt poles.[7] The *κοντός* had a pointed iron at one end. In shallow water the sailors thrust it into the ground, and thus pushed on the boat. It also served as a means to sound the depth of the water.

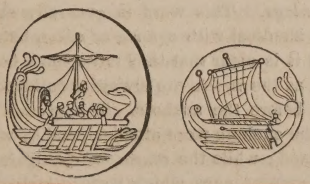
5. *Παραστάται*, or supports for the masts. They seem to have been a kind of props placed at the foot of the masts.[8] The mast of a trireme, as long as such props were used, was supported by two. In later times they do not occur any longer in triremes, and must have been supplanted by something else. The triacontores, on the other hand, retained their *παραστάται*.[9]

6. The *Mast* (*ἱστός*). The ancients had vessels with one, two, or three masts. From Böckh's *Urkunden* we learn that two masts were issued at Athens from the *νεώριον* for every trireme. The foremast was called *ἀκάτειος*, the mainmast *ἱστὸς μέγας*. A triaconter had likewise two masts ; and the smaller mast here, as well as in

[1] *Ælian, V. H.*, ix., 40; *Acts*, xxvii., 40.
[2] *Hygin., Fab.*, 14.
[3] *Eurip., Helen.*, 1556.
[4] *Acts*, xxvii., 40.
[5] *Athen.*, v., p. 204. Compare *Tac., Ann.*, ii., 6.
[6] *Böckh, Urkund.*, p. 125, &c.
[7] *Böckh, l. c.*
[8] *Isidor., Orig.*, xix., 2, 11.
[9] *Böckh*, p. 126.

a trireme, was near the prow. In three-masted vessels, the largest mast was nearest the stern. The masts as well as the yards were usually of fir.[1] The invention of masts in navigation is attributed to Dædalus.[2] The part of the mast immediately above the yard formed a structure similar to a drinking-cup, and bore the name of *καρχήσιον*. Into it the mariners ascended in order to manage the sails, to obtain a distant view, or to discharge missiles. The continuation of the mast above the carchesium was called "the distaff" (*ἠλακάτη*), corresponding to our topmast or top-gallant mast.

7. The *Yards* (*κέρας*, *κεραῖα*). The main yard, in Latin *antenna*, was fastened to the top of the mast by ropes termed *κεροῦχοι*. To the main yard was attached the mainsail, which was hoisted or let down as the occasion might require. For this purpose a wooden hoop was made to slide up and down the mast. To the two extremities of the yard (*ἀκροκέραιαι*), ropes (*κεροῦχοι*) were attached, which passed to the top of the mast; and by means of these ropes and the pulleys connected with them, the yard and sail, guided by the hoop, were hoisted to the height required. There are numerous representations of ancient ships in which the antenna or yard is seen, as in the two wood-cuts here appended. In the one on the right hand there are ropes hanging down from the yard, the object of which was to enable the sailors to turn it and the sail according to the wind.



2. Σκεύη κρεμαστά.

1. *Ὑποζώματα*. These were thick and broad ropes, which ran in a horizontal direction around the ship, from the stern to the prow, and were intended to keep the whole fabric together. They ran round the vessel in several circles, and at certain distances from one another. The Latin name for the *ὑπόζωμα* is *tormentum*.[3] The length of these *ὑποζώματα* varied accordingly as they ran around the higher or lower part of the ship, the latter being naturally shorter than the former. Their number varied according to the size of the ship. A trireme required four *ὑποζώματα*, and sometimes this num-

[1] *Plin., H. N.*, xvi., 76. [2] *Id. ib.*, vii., 56. [3] *Isidor., Orig.*, xix., 4, 4.

ber was even increased, especially when the vessel had to sail to a stormy part of the sea. Such *ὑποζώματα* were always ready in the Attic arsenals, and were only put on a vessel when it was taken into use. Sometimes, also, they were taken on board when a vessel sailed, and not put on till it was thought necessary.[1] The act of putting them on was called *ὑποζωννύναι* or *διαζωννύναι*.[2]

2. Ἱστίον, the *Sail*. Most ancient ships had only one sail, which was attached with the yard to the great mast. In a trireme, too, one sail might be sufficient, but the trierarch might, nevertheless, add a second. As each of the two masts of a trireme had two sail-yards, it farther follows that each mast might have two sails, one of which was placed lower than the other. The two belonging to the mainmast were called *ἱστία μεγάλα*, and those of the foremast *ἱστία ἀκάτεια*.[3] The former were used on ordinary occasions, but the latter probably only in cases when it was necessary to sail with extraordinary speed. The sails of the Attic war-galleys, and of most ancient ships in general, were of a square form, as is seen in numerous representations on works of art. Whether triangular sails were ever used by the Greeks, as has been frequently supposed, is very doubtful. The Romans, however, used triangular sails, which they called *suppara*, and which had the shape of an inverted Greek Δ (∇), the upper side of which was attached to the yard.

3. Τοπεῖα, *Cordage*. This word is generally explained by the grammarians as identical with *σχοινία* or *κάλοι*, but from the documents in Böckh it is clear that they must have been two distinct classes of ropes, as the *τοπεῖα* are always mentioned after the sails, and the *σχοινία* before the anchors. The *σχοινία* are the strong ropes to which the anchors were attached, and by which a ship was fastened to the land; while the *τοπεῖα* were a lighter kind of ropes, and made with greater care, which were attached to the masts, yards, and sails. Each rope of this kind was made for a distinct purpose and place (*τόπος*, whence the name *τοπεῖα*). The following kinds are most worthy of notice: (*a.*) *καλῴδια* or *κάλοι*. What these were is not quite clear, though Böckh thinks it probable that they belonged to the standing tackle, *i. e.*, that they were the ropes by which the mast was fastened to both sides of the ship, so that the *πρότονοι* in the Homeric ships were only an especial kind of *καλῴδια*, or the *καλῴδια* themselves differently placed. In later times, the *πρότονος* was the rope which went from the top of the mainmast

[1] *Acts*, xxvii., 17. [2] *Polyb.*, xxvii., 3; *Appian.*, *B. C.*, v., 91.
[3] *Xen.*, *Hellen.*, vi., 2, 27; *Bekker*, *Anecd.*, p. 19.

(*καρχήσιον*) to the prow of the ship, and thus was what is now called the main-stay; (*b.*) *ἱμάντες* and *κεροῦχοι*, names probably for the same ropes which ran from the two ends of the sail-yard to the top of the mast; (*c.*) *ἄγκοινα*, in Latin *anquina*, the rope which went from the middle of a yard to the top of the mast, and was intended to facilitate the drawing up and letting down of the sail; (*d.*) *πόδες*, in Latin *pedes*, were in later times, as in the poems of Homer, the ropes attached to the two lower corners of a square sail. These *πόδες* ran from the ends of the sail to the sides of the vessel toward the stern, where they were fastened with rings attached to the outer side of the bulwark;[1] (*e.*) *ὑπέραι* were the two ropes attached to the two ends of the sail-yard, and thence came down to a part of the ship near the stern. Their object was to move the yard according to the wind. In Latin they are called *opifera*, which is, perhaps, only a corruption of *hypera*.[2]

4. *Παραῤῥύματα*. The ancients, as early as the time of Homer, had various preparations raised above the edge of a vessel, which were made of skins and wicker-work, and which were intended as a protection against high waves, and also to serve as a kind of breast-work, behind which the men might be safe against the darts of the enemy. These elevations of the bulwark are called *παραῤῥύματα*, and in the documents in Böckh they are either called *τρίχινα*, made of hair, or *λευκά*, white. They were probably fixed upon the edge on both sides of the vessel, and were taken off when not wanted. Each galley appears to have had several *παραῤῥύματα*, two made of hair, and two white ones, these four being regularly mentioned as belonging to one ship.[3]

5. *Σχοινία*. These were the stronger and heavier kinds of ropes. There were two kinds of these, namely, the *σχοινία ἀγκύρεια*, to which the anchor was attached, and the *σχοινία ἐπίγνα* or *ἐπίγεια* (*retinacula*), by which the ship was fastened to the shore or drawn upon the shore. Four ropes of each of these kinds is the highest number that is mentioned as belonging to one ship. The thick ropes were made of several thinner ones.[4]

6. *Ἄγκυρα*, the *Anchor*. In the Homeric age, as we have already remarked, anchors were unknown, and large stones (*εὐναί*, *sleepers*) were used in their stead. According to Pliny,[5] the anchor was first invented by Eupalamus, and afterward improved by Anacharsis. Afterward, when anchors were used, they were generally made of

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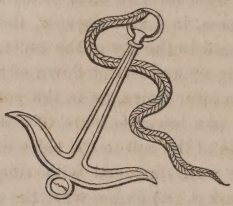
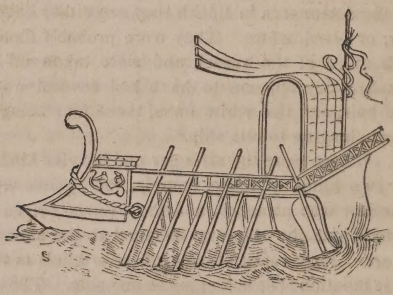
[1] *Herod.*, ii., 36.
[2] *Isid.*, *Orig.*, xix., 4, 6.
[3] *Xen.*, *Hellen.*, i., 6, 19; *Böckh*, p. 159, &c.
[4] *Aristoph.*, *Pax*, 36; *Böckh*, p. 161, *seqq.*
[5] *Plin.*, *H. N.*, vii., 57.

iron, and their form, as may be seen from the annexed figure, taken from a coin, resembled that of a modern anchor.



Such an anchor was often termed *διπλῆ*, *ἀμφίβολος*, or *ἀμφίστομος*, (*bidens*), because it had two teeth or flukes. Sometimes, however, it had only one, and was then called *ἑτερόστομος*. The technical expressions in the use of the anchor are, *ἄγκυραν χαλᾶν* (*ancoram solvere*), "to loosen the anchor;" *ἄγκυραν βάλλειν* or *ῥίπτειν* (*ancoram jacere*), "to cast anchor;" and *ἄγκυραν αἴρειν* or *ἀναίρεσθαι* (*ancoram tollere*), "to weigh anchor," whence *αἴρειν* by itself means "to set sail," *ἄγκυραν* being understood. The following figure, taken from a marble at Rome, shows the cable passing through a hole in the prow.



Each ship, of course, had several anchors; the one in which St. Paul sailed had four, and others had eight. The last or most powerful anchor, "the last hope," was called *ἱερά* (*sacra*). To indicate where the anchor lay, a bundle of cork floated over it on the surface of the waters.[1]

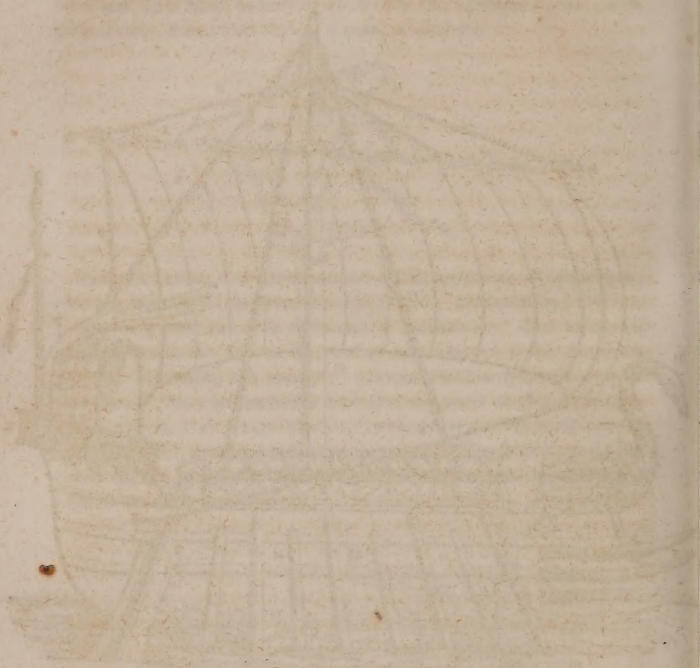
The preceding account of the different parts of the ship will be rendered still clearer by the cut on the opposite page, in which it is attempted to give a restoration of an ancient vessel.

[1] *Paus.*, viii., 12; *Plin.*, *H. N.*, xvi., 8.

[*To face page* 282.

EXPLANATION.

A. *Prora.*
B. *Oculus.*
C. *Rostrum.*
D. *Cheniscus.*
E. *Puppis.*
F. *Aplustre*, with the pole containing the *fascia* or *tænia.*
G. Τράφηξ.
H. *Remi.*
I. *Gubernaculum.*
K. *Malus.*
L. *Velum.*
M. *Antenna.*
N. *Cornua.*
O. *Ceruchi.*
P. *Carchesium.*
Q. Κάλοι, καλώδια.
R. Πρότονος.
S. *Pedes.*
T. *Opifera.*



CHAPTER XXIV.

(D.) FINANCE.

1. *Expenditure.*

1. COST OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

ONE very considerable item of public expenditure was the outlay required for the celebration of public worship, with its sacrifices, processions, theatrical exhibitions, and games at the great festivals, such as the Panathenæa, Dionysia, Eleusinia, &c. It is true that these expenses were, as before remarked, defrayed in part by private contributions and liturgies, but the liabilities incurred by the state were still very considerable. Another great expense was the sending of sacred embassies (*θεωρίαι*) to Delos, Delphi, and the great national games. For these theoriæ two triremes (the Delian and the Paralian) were constantly kept in commission, their crews receiving four oboli per man daily. The state did not, indeed, charge itself with these disbursements, but still a sum was granted to the trierarchs out of the public chest to meet their necessarily increased expenditure.

2. WAR: THE STANDING ARMY—THE NAVY.

The expenses incurred by the Athenians in their frequent wars were necessarily very considerable, especially after the time of Pericles, when the troops received pay, although the citizens provided their own clothing and arms. One heavy item was the maintenance and education of the sons of those who had fallen in battle, who were also furnished, as Ephebi, with a *πανοπλία*, or suit of armor. Another regular expense was the *κατάστασις*,[1] a sum of money paid to the horsemen for their outfit, and the *σιτηρέσιον*, or provision-money, given to the troops besides their *μισθός* or regular pay. The building of triremes also every year, from the time of Themistocles,[2] to which we have already alluded, served to swell considerably the amount of state expenditure.

3. PUBLIC BUILDINGS—POLICE—PUBLIC REWARDS.

Considerable sums were expended in the construction and maintenance of public buildings, such as fortifications, docks, arsenals,

[1] *Xen., Hipparch.*, i., 19. [2] *Polyæn.*, i., 30; *Plut., Themist.*, 4.

walls (of the city and harbors), water-courses, streets, gymnasia, courts of justice, temples, works of art, &c. We may also reckon as items of expenditure the raising and maintaining of the police force (*τοξόται*), which gradually, as we have already stated, reached the number of twelve hundred men,[1] all public slaves, who received pay from the state. To this may be added national rewards, public entertainment in the Prytaneum, presents to foreign ambassadors, &c. The public rewards were, however, seldom pecuniary. They generally consisted in maintenance at the public expense, as in the case of the Prytaneum just mentioned; ateleia (immunity from taxation generally, or exemption from certain liturgies and contributions); a golden crown (for the Bouleutæ, for instance, and sometimes for individual statesmen, as in the case of Pericles, who was the first who received this honor, Demosthenes, &c.); statues, as those erected in honor of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and subsequently of Conon. These statues were afterward set up in great numbers. Demetrius Phalereus had three hundred and sixty in one year.

4. PAYMENT FOR CERTAIN PUBLIC DUTIES.

I. Many persons employed in the service of the state received payment, especially after the time of Pericles. Among these payments may be reckoned *τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικόν*, or *μισθὸς ἐκκλησιαστικός*, wages for attendance in the public assembly, at first one, afterward three oboli a day, as already stated; *τὸ βουλευτικόν*, the senator's fee, one drachma a day; *τὸ δικαστικόν*, the dicast's fee, three oboli. To prevent abuses, it was provided by law that no person should receive payment for attendance at two places in one day.

II. The magistrates had no pay; but many other public functionaries received a remuneration for their trouble, for instance, the public advocates (*σύνδικοι, συνήγοροι*), the inspectors of gymnasia (*σωφρονισταί*), the nomothetæ, the state physicians, and a whole host of secretaries, heralds, and other public officers. There were also, besides the prytanes, many functionaries who were boarded in the Prytaneum (*σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ*),[2] and many were *ἀείσιτοι, i. e.*, to whom this public maintenance had been granted for life. Ambassadors received an allowance for travelling expenses (*ἐφόδιον, πορεῖον*).

[1] *Æschin.*, *περὶ παραπρεσβ.*, p. 335; *Andoc.*, *de Pac.*, p. 93.

[2] Compare *Cic.*, *de Orat.*, i., 54.

5. VARIOUS LARGESSES (διανομαί, διαδόσεις).

I. One species of largess was the pension received by poor invalid soldiers (ἀδύνατοι).[1] This regulation was afterward extended to all impotent persons, who received one or two oboli daily. The distribution of these pensions was intrusted to the senate, and all who applied for it were subjected to a strict examination. We have already mentioned that the children of those who fell in battle were maintained at the public expense. In times of scarcity, moreover, corn was purchased by the government, and given, or sold at a reduced price to the people.

II. The most important largesses, however, and which proved eventually a source of the greatest injury to the state, were what were termed θεωρικά, under which name were comprised the moneys distributed among the people for theatrical and other shows. The Attic drama used to be performed in a wooden theatre, and the entrance was free to all citizens who chose to go. It was found, however, that the crowding to get in led to much confusion and even danger. On one occasion, about B.C. 500, the scaffolding which supported the roof fell in, and caused great alarm. It was then determined that the entrance should no longer be gratuitous. The fee for a place was fixed at two oboli, which was paid to the lessee of the theatre, who undertook to keep it in repair, and constantly ready for use, on condition of being allowed to receive the profits. This payment continued to be exacted after the stone theatre was built.

III. Pericles, to relieve the poorer classes, passed a law which enabled them to receive the price of admission from the state; after which, all those citizens who were too poor to pay for their places applied for the money in the public assembly, which was then frequently held in the theatre.[2] In process of time, this donation was extended to other entertainments besides theatrical ones, the sum of two oboli being given to each citizen who attended; if the festival lasted two days, four oboli; and if three, six oboli; but not beyond. Hence all theoric largesses received the name of διωβελία. The sums thus given varied at different times, and, of course, depended on the state of the public exchequer. These distributions of money, like those of grain and flour, were called διανομαί or διαδόσεις. They were often made at the Dionysia, when the allies were present, and saw the surplus of their tribute distributed from the orchestra. The appetite of the people for largesses grew by

[1] *Plut., Solon*, 31; *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 242, *seqq.*, 2d ed.

[2] *Schömann, Ant. Jur. Publ. Græc.*, p. 219.

encouragement, stimulated from time to time by designing demagogues; and in the time of Demosthenes they seem not to have been confined to the poorer classes.[1] Böckh calculates that from twenty-five to thirty talents were spent upon them annually.[2]

IV. So large an expenditure of the public funds upon shows and amusements absorbed the resources which were demanded for services of a more important nature. By the ancient law, the whole surplus of the annual revenue which remained after the expense of the civil administration, was to be carried to the military fund, and applied to the defence of the commonwealth. Since the time of Pericles various demagogues had sprung up, who induced the people to divert all that could be spared from the other branches of civil expenditure into the theoric fund, which at length swallowed up the whole surplus, and the supplies needed for the purpose of war or defence were left to depend upon the extraordinary contributions or property-tax (*εἰσφοραί*).

V. An attempt was made by the demagogue Eubulus to perpetuate this system. He passed a law which made it a capital offence to propose that the theoric fund should be applied to military service. In B.C. 353, Apollodorus carried a decree empowering the people to determine whether the surplus revenue might be applied to the purpose of war; for which he was indicted by a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, convicted and fined, and the decree was annulled as a matter of course.[3] The law of Eubulus was a source of great embarrassment to Demosthenes in the prosecution of his schemes for the national defence, and he seems at last, but not before B.C. 339, to have succeeded in repealing it.[4]

6. REVENUE (*πόροι, προσοδοί*).

I. Until the growing power of Athens gave her control over the wealth of foreign states, and her increased public expenditure called for regular or extraordinary contributions from her more substantial citizens, the public revenue was very inconsiderable. Afterward, however, it gradually increased, and is reckoned by Aristophanes at two thousand talents yearly,[5] a calculation which will not appear enormous if we remember that the tribute paid by the allies amounted alone to twelve hundred talents. Before the Peloponnesian war, the state had collected a considerable amount of treasure, which was all expended in that war.

[1] *Philipp.*, iv., 141.
[2] *Publ. Econ.*, p. 224, 2d ed.
[3] *Demosth. c. Neær.*, 1346, *seqq.*
[4] *Schömann*, p. 307.
[5] *Aristoph., Vesp.*, 660. Compare *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 443, 2d ed.

II. The public revenue was either ordinary or extraordinary, the former being derived from the regular taxes, the latter from the prize money in time of war, or from the extraordinary contributions (voluntary or compulsory) of the citizens.

(A.) ORDINARY REVENUE.

To the ordinary receipts belonged, (*a.*) the income from the various landed property of the state, &c.; (*b.*) Taxes; (*c.*) Duties. We shall consider each of these in order.

(*a.*) *Income from Landed Property, &c.*

Under this head is included the income from all public landed property, arable land, pastures, forests, salt-pits, mines, especially the silver mines of Laurium, fines and confiscations. All these were public property, held by the occupiers subject to a ground-rent, in addition to the price originally paid for the purchase. The silver mines in the time of Xenophon were farmed by private individuals, who paid a certain sum to the state in proportion to the quantity of ore which they extracted. All the sources of revenue here mentioned were usually let by auction. The conditions of the lease were engraven on stone. The rent was payable by Prytaneias, and if not paid at the stipulated time, the lessee, if a citizen, became ἄτιμος, and subject to the same consequences as any other state debtor.

(*b.*) *Taxes* (τέλη).

I. The *taxes* imposed by the Athenians and collected at home were either ordinary or extraordinary. The former constituted a regular or permanent source of income, the latter were only raised in time of war or other emergency.

II. The ordinary taxes, which alone are to be here considered, were laid mostly upon *property*, and upon citizens *indirectly* in the shape of toll or customs; though the resident aliens paid a poll-tax for the liberty of residing at Athens under the protection of the state. An excise, moreover, was paid on all sales in the market, called ἐπωνία, though we know not what the amount was.[1] A tax was also imposed on aliens for permission to sell their goods there. Slave-owners likewise paid a tax of three oboli for every slave they kept; and slaves who had been emancipated paid the same. This was a very productive tax before the seizure and fortification of Decelea by the Lacedæmonians, since numerous runaway slaves

[1] *Harpocr.*, *s. v.* Ἐπωνία.

after this found refuge there. The justice-fees (*Πρυτανεῖα, παράστασις*) were also a lucrative tax in time of peace.[1]

(*c.*) *Duties.*

I. The duty on imports or exports by sea was two per cent. (*πεντηκοστή*), exclusive of a small payment for the use of the harbor and the public warehouses. The amount of duty on goods brought over land is not known. On imports, the duty was payable on the unloading; on exports, probably when they were put on board. The money was collected by persons called *πεντηκοστολόγοι*, who kept a book in which they entered all customs received. The merchant who paid the duty was said *πεντηκοντεύεσθαι*. All the customs appear to have been let to farm, and probably from year to year. They were let to the highest bidders by the ten *πωληταί*, acting under the authority of the senate. The farmers were called *τελῶναι*, and were said *ὠνεῖσθαι τὴν πεντηκοστήν*. They might either collect the duty themselves, or employ others for that purpose. Several persons often joined together in the speculation, in which case the principal, in whose name the bidding took place, and who was responsible to the state, was called *ἀρχώνης* or *τελωνάρχης*. Sureties were usually required.[2]

II. The state endeavored to guard itself against any loss from these farmers of the revenue by not only requiring security, as just observed, but also by enacting stringent laws. Defaulters were visited, like other state debtors, with atimia; at the expiration of the ninth prytany the debt was doubled, and the amount levied on their property: they might be thrown into prison; and the law with regard to them was so severe, that they were excepted, in common with persons guilty of high treason, from the enactment which provided that no Attic citizen should be imprisoned if he could find three persons of the same class with himself who were willing to become his sureties.

III. The tribute (*φόροι*) paid by the allied states to the Athenians formed, in the flourishing period of the republic, a regular and most important source of revenue. In B.C. 415, however, the Athenians substituted for the tribute a duty of five per cent. (*εἰκοστή*) on all commodities exported or imported by the subject states, thinking to raise by this means a larger income than by direct taxation. It was, of course, terminated by the issue of the Peloponnesian war, but the tribute was afterward revived on more equitable principles under the name of *σύνταξις*.

[1] *Thucyd.*, vi., 91; *Böckh*, p. 345, *seqq.*, 2d ed. [2] *Demosth. c. Timocr.*, 713.

7. ORDINARY SERVICES OF THE CITIZENS.

I. The oppressive character of the Attic democracy manifested itself in the number of public burdens which it imposed on the wealthier members of the community. Such a personal service was termed Λειτουργία, *Liturgia*, or a liturgy. These liturgies or personal services, which in all cases were connected with considerable expense, occur in the history of Attica as early as the time of the Pisistratidæ,[1] and were probably, if not introduced, at least sanctioned by the legislation of Solon. They were at first a natural consequence of the greater political privileges enjoyed by the wealthy, who, in return, had also to perform heavier duties toward the republic; but when the Athenian democracy was at its height, the original character of these liturgies became changed; for, as every citizen now enjoyed the same rights and privileges as the wealthiest, they were simply a tax upon property, connected with personal labor and exertion.

II. Notwithstanding, however, this altered character of the liturgies, and their really burdensome nature, we scarcely ever find that complaints were made by persons subject to them; many wealthy Athenians, on the contrary, ruined their estates by their ambitious exertions, and by their desire to gain the favor of the people. To do no more than the law required (ἀφοσιοῦσθαι) was at Athens considered as a disgrace, and in some cases a wealthy Athenian, even when it was not his turn, would volunteer to perform a liturgy.

III. All liturgies may be divided into two classes: 1. *Ordinary*, or *Encyclic* liturgies (ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι), and, 2. *Extraordinary* liturgies. The former will occupy our attention at present; the latter will be considered under the head of extraordinary sources of revenue. The *Encyclic* liturgies were so called because they recurred every year at certain festive seasons, and comprised the χορηγία, γυμνασιαρχία, λαμπαδαρχία, ἀρχιθεωρία, and ἑστίασις, each of which will be presently explained.

IV. Every Athenian who possessed three talents and above was subject to these liturgies, and they were undertaken in turn by the members of every tribe who possessed the property qualification just mentioned, unless some one volunteered to undertake a liturgy for another person. But the law did not allow any one to be compelled to undertake more than one liturgy at a time, and he who had in one year performed a liturgy, was free for the next, so that le-

[1] *Aristot.*, Œconom., ii., 5.

gally a person had to perform a liturgy only every other year. Those whose turn it was to undertake any of the ordinary liturgies were always appointed by their own tribe, and the tribe shared praise as well as blame with its λειτουργός. The persons who were exempt from all kinds of liturgies were the nine archons, heiresses, and orphans until after the commencement of the second year of their coming of age. Sometimes the exemption from liturgies (ἀτέλεια) was granted to persons for especial merits toward the republic.

We will now proceed to give a more particular account of the individual liturgies:

Χορηγία.

I. The Χορηγία, *Choregia*, was one of the most expensive of the ordinary or encyclic liturgies. The person who discharged its duties was termed *Chorēgus* (χορηγός). He was appointed by his tribe, though we are not informed according to what order. The same person might serve as choregus for two tribes at once,[1] and after B.C. 412, a decree was passed allowing two persons to unite and undertake a choregia together.[2]

II. The duties of a choregia consisted in providing the choruses for tragedies and comedies, the lyric choruses of men and boys, the pyrrhicists, the cyclic choruses, and the choruses of flute-players for the different religious festivals at Athens. When a poet intended to bring out a play, he had to get a chorus assigned him by the archon, who nominated a choregus to fulfill the requisite duties. The choregus had in the first place to get the choreutæ. In the case of a chorus of boys, this was sometimes a difficult matter, parents being unwilling to suffer their boys to be choreutæ, lest they should be exposed to corrupting influences during their training. If the boys could be obtained in no other way, compulsion was allowable.[3]

III. Having procured the choreutæ, the choregus had next to provide a trainer for them (χοροδιδάσκαλος). It was, of course, a matter of great importance to get a good trainer. The apportionment of the trainers was decided by lot; that is, as Böckh imagines, the choregi decided by lot in what order they were to select the trainers, which was, in fact, the mode of proceeding with respect to the flute-player.

IV. The choregus had to pay not only the trainer, but the choreutæ themselves, and maintain them while they were in training, providing them with such food as was adapted to strengthen the

[1] *Antiph., de Chorevt.*, p 768; *Demosth. c. Lept.*, p. 467.
[2] *Schol. ad Arist., Ran.*, 406.
[3] *Antiph. c. Timarch.*, p. 391.

voice; and to provide a suitable training place (*χορηγεῖον*), if he had no place in his own house adapted for the purpose.[1] He had also to provide the chorus with the requisite dresses, crowns, and masks.[2] It is not to be supposed, however, that the choregus defrayed the whole expense of the play to be represented.

V. The choregus who was judged to have performed his duties in the best manner received a tripod as a prize, the expense of which, however, he had to defray himself, and this expense frequently included the building of a cell or chapel in which to dedicate it. A street at Athens was called the Street of the Tripods, from being lined with these. The tribe to which the choregus belonged shared the honors of the victory with him, and the names of both were inscribed upon the tripod or monument.[3] The sums expended by choregi were doubtless, in most cases, larger than was absolutely necessary. Aristophanes[4] spent five thousand drachmæ upon two tragic choruses. From Lysias we learn that another person spent three thousand drachmæ upon a single tragic chorus; two thousand for a chorus of men; five thousand for a chorus of men on another occasion, when, having gained the prize, he had to defray the expense of the tripod; eight hundred drachmæ for a chorus of pyrrhicists; three hundred drachmæ for a cyclic chorus.[5] A chorus of flute-players cost more than a tragic chorus.

Γυμνασιαρχία.

This liturgy, also, was attended with considerable expense. The *γυμνασιάρχης*, or magistrate who had the whole management of the gymnasia, had to maintain and pay the persons who were preparing themselves for the games and contests in the public festivals, to provide them with oil, and perhaps with the wrestler's dust. It also devolved upon him to adorn the gymnasium, or the place where the *agones* or contests took place.[6] Another part of the duties of the *γυμνασιάρχης* was to conduct the solemn games at certain great festivals, especially the torch-race (*λαμπαδηφορία*), for which he selected the most distinguished among the ephebi of the gymnasia.

Λαμπαδαρχία.

This was a liturgy connected with the torch-race, to which we have already alluded, and, like the previous one, it fell under the care of the *γυμνασιάρχης*. He had to provide the *λαμπάς*, which was

[1] *Antiph., l. c.; Athen.*, xiv., p. 617, *b.*
[2] *Demosth. c. Mid.*, p. 519.
[3] *Paus.*, i., 20, 1; *Plat., Gorg.*, p. 472.
[4] *Lys. pro Arist.*, p. 633, 642.
[5] *Id., ἀπολ. δωροδ.*, p. 698.
[6] *Xen., de Rep. Athen.*, i., 13.

a candlestick with a kind of shield set at the bottom of the socket, so as to shelter the flame of the candle; he had also to provide for the training of the runners, which was of no slight consequence, for the race was evidently a severe one,[1] together with other expenses, which, on the whole, were very heavy. The victorious gymnasiarch presented his *λαμπάς* as a votive offering.[2]

'Αρχιθεωρία—'Εστιασις.

I. The liturgy of the 'Αρχιθεωρία consisted in defraying a portion of the expense attending the religious embassies sent to the four great games, the solemn procession to Delos, and also the consulting of the oracle at Delphi. The individuals who discharged these liturgies, and to whom the management of these embassies, &c., was intrusted, were called *ἀρχιθέωροι*. These liturgies were frequently very costly, for, as the chief conductor represented the state, he was expected to appear with a suitable degree of splendor; for instance, to wear a golden crown, to drive into the city with a handsome chariot, &c. Nicias, who was very rich, is reported to have incurred great expenses on his embassy to Delos, beyond what was required of him; and Alcibiades astonished all the spectators at Olympia by the magnificence of his horses, chariots, &c., and the profuseness of his expenditure.[3]

II. The 'Εστίασις consisted in giving a feast to one of the tribes at Athens (*τὴν φυλὴν ἑστιᾶν*).[4] It was provided for each tribe at the expense of a person belonging to that tribe, who was called *ἑστιάτωρ*. Harpocration[5] states, on the authority of the speech of Demosthenes against Meidias, that this feast was sometimes provided by persons voluntarily, and at other times by persons appointed by lot; but, as Böckh remarks, nothing of this kind occurs in the speech, and no burden of this description could have been imposed upon a citizen by lot. The *ἑστιάτορες* were doubtless appointed, like all persons serving liturgies, according to the amount of their property, in some regular succession. These banquets of the tribes, called *φυλετικὰ δεῖπνα* by Athenæus, were introduced for sacred purposes, and for keeping up a friendly intercourse between persons of the same tribe, and must be distinguished from the great feastings of the people, which were defrayed from the theorica.[6]

[1] Compare *Aristoph., Vesp.*, 1203; *Ran.*, 1085. [2] *Böckh, Inscript., No.* 243, 250.
[3] *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 214, *seqq.*, 2d ed.
[4] *Demosth. c. Mid.*, p. 565, 10; *Pollux*, iii., 67. [5] *s. v.* 'Εστιάτωρ.
[6] *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 452, 2d ed.

Nov 20. 1852.

(B.) EXTRAORDINARY SOURCES OF REVENUE.

The extraordinary sources of revenue were the *property-tax*, termed *εἰσφορά*, and the extraordinary liturgy termed *trierarchy* (*τριηραρχία*). We will describe each of these in turn.

Εἰσφορά.

I. The term *εἰσφορά* means, literally, a contribution or tribute. In the special sense, however, in which it is here employed, it denotes an extraordinary tax on property, raised at Athens whenever the means of the state were not sufficient to carry on a war. We must carefully distinguish between this tax and the various liturgies, which consisted in personal or direct services which citizens had to perform, whereas the *εἰσφορά* consisted in paying a certain contribution toward defraying the expenses of a war.

II. It is not quite certain when this property-tax was introduced; for, although it is commonly inferred from a passage in Thucydides[1] that it was first instituted in 428 B.C., in order to defray the expenses of the siege of Mytilene, yet we find *εἰσφοραί* mentioned at an earlier period.[2] But, however this may be, after the year 428 B.C. this property tax seems to have been frequently raised, for a few years afterward Aristophanes speaks of it as something of common occurrence.[3] Such a contribution could never be raised without a decree of the people, who also fixed upon the amount required. The generals superintended its collection, and presided in the courts where disputes connected with or arising from the levying of the tax were settled.[4] The usual expressions for paying this property-tax are, *εἰσφέρειν χρήματα*, *εἰσφέρειν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον*, and those who paid it were called *οἱ εἰσφέροντες*. The rates were higher or lower, according to the wants of the republic at the time: we have accounts of rates of a twelfth, a fiftieth, a hundredth, and a five hundredth part of the taxable property.

III. The census of Solon was, during the first period, the standard according to which the *εἰσφορά* was raised, until, in 377 B.C., in the archonship of Nausinicus, a new census was instituted, in which the people, for the purpose of fixing the rates of the property-tax, were divided into a number of *symmoriæ* (*συμμορίαι*) or classes, similar to those which were afterward made for the trierarchy. The nature of this new census, notwithstanding the minute investigation of Böckh, is still involved in great obscurity.

[1] *Thucyd.*, iii., 19.
[2] *Antiph., Tetral.*, i., 12; *Isæus, de Dicæog.*, c. 37.
[3] *Aristoph., Equit.*, 922.
[4] *Wolf, Proleg. in Leptin.*, p. 94.

IV. Each of the ten tribes, according to Ulpian, appointed one hundred and twenty of its wealthier citizens, who were divided into two parts, according to their property, called *symmoriæ*, each consisting of sixty persons; and the members of the wealthier of the two symmoriæ were obliged, in cases of urgent necessity, to advance to the less wealthy the sum required for the *εἰσφορά*. When the wants of the state had been thus supplied, those who advanced the money could at their ease, and in the usual way, exact their money back from those to whom they had advanced it. The whole number of persons included in the symmoriæ was twelve hundred, who were considered as the representatives of the whole republic. It would, however, as Böckh justly observes, be absurd to suppose, with Ulpian, that these twelve hundred alone paid the property-tax, and that all the rest were exempt from it. Many others, with less property, must have contributed to the *εἰσφορά*.[1]

V. The body of twelve hundred was, according to Ulpian, also divided into four classes, each consisting of three hundred. The first class, or richest, were the leaders of the symmoriæ (*ἡγεμόνες συμμοριῶν*), and are often called the three hundred *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. They probably conducted the proceedings of the symmoriæ, and they, or, what is more likely, the demarchs had to value the taxable property. When the wants of the state were pressing, the three hundred leaders, perhaps in connection with the three hundred included in the second class (for Ulpian, in the first portion of his remark, states that the richer symmoria of every tribe had to perform this duty), advanced the money to the others on the above-mentioned terms. The rates of taxation for the four classes have been made out with great probability by Böckh.

VI. Every one had to pay his tax in the tribe where his landed property lay, and if any one refused to pay, the state had a right to confiscate his estate, but not to punish the individual with atimia.[2] But if any one thought that his property was taxed higher than that of another man on whom juster claims could be made, he had the right to call upon this person to take the office in his stead, or to submit to a complete exchange of property. No Athenian, on the other hand, if belonging to the tax-paying classes, could be exempt from the *εἰσφορά*, not even the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Orphans, also, though exempt from the liturgies, were obliged to pay the property-tax, and even trierarchs were not excused from it. Aliens also were subject to it.[3]

[1] *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 250, 2d ed.

[2] *Demosth. c. Androt.*, p. 609; *c. Timocr.*, p. 752.

[3] *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 538.

Τριηραρχία.

I. The most important extraordinary liturgy was the *Trierarchy*, or charge of equipping triremes for war. In early times there were forty-eight, and after the time of Clisthenes fifty *Naucrariæ*, each of which furnished a ship and two cavalry soldiers.[1] At a later period, the strategi, or generals, chose the requisite number of trierarchs from the wealthier citizens. These officers either themselves took the command of their ships, or provided substitutes. Until toward the end of the Peloponnesian war, the hull and mast, with the pay and provision of the crew, were furnished by the state; while the stores, tackle, &c., were provided by the trierarch, who was required to keep his vessel in seaworthy condition.

II. Subsequently we find the stores also provided by the state. If a trierarch complained that his ship had sustained damage in a storm without any fault on his part, a *Diadicasia* was instituted to determine whether the loss should fall on him or on the state. Instead of one trierarch being charged with the equipment of a ship, the expenses in later times were often divided between two, and not unfrequently persons compounded for their trierarchies. Afterward (from B.C. 357) the plan of the symmoriæ was extended to the trierarchy, the ships being divided among them, so that a number of persons, greater or less according to circumstances, were united for the equipment of a vessel. This arrangement, however, being sometimes unfair as regarded the three hundred richest citizens, a law was afterward passed in the time of Demosthenes, by which the possessor of ten talents was required to equip one trireme, and men of larger fortune a number (not exceeding three) in proportion to their means, the less wealthy citizens being still allowed to club together. The trierarchy continued a year, at the expiration of which an account was rendered to the logistæ. Trierarchies were sometimes undertaken voluntarily, or particular stores were furnished, or triremes presented to the state by individuals.

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[1] *Lex. Rhet.*, p. 283.

CHAPTER XXV.

MANAGEMENT OF THE FINANCES.

Different Officers for the Collection, Custody, and Disbursement of the Public Funds.

The chief control over the finances was exercised, as we have already mentioned, by the senate, but the details of management were committed to certain officers. These officers we will now proceed to enumerate, and will give a brief account of their respective duties.

1. Πράκτορες.

I. The *πράκτορες* were officers who collected the fines and penalties (*ἐπιβολάς* and *τιμήματα*) imposed by the magistrates and courts of justice, and payable to the state. The magistrate who imposed the fine, or the *ἡγεμὼν δικαστηρίου*, gave notice thereof in writing to the *πράκτορες*. He was then said *ἐπιγράφειν τὸ τίμημα τοῖς πράκτορσιν*, and the debtor's name *παραδοθῆναι τοῖς πράκτορσιν*. If the fine, or any part of it, was to go to a temple, the like notice was sent to the *ταμίαι* of the god or goddess to whom the temple belonged.[1] The name of the debtor, with the sum which he was condemned to pay, was entered by the *πράκτορες* in a tablet in the Acropolis. It was the business of the *πράκτορες* to demand payment of this sum, and, if they received it, to pay it over to the *ἀποδεικταί*, and also to erase the name of the debtor in the register. Such erasure usually took place in the presence of some members of the senate.

II. The collectors took no steps to enforce payment; but after the ninth *πρυτανεία* from the registering of the debt (or, in case of a penalty imposed on a *γραφὴ ὕβρεως*, after the expiration of eleven days), if it still remained unpaid, it was doubled, and an entry made accordingly.[2] Thereupon immediate measures might be taken for seizure and confiscation of the debtor's goods; but here the *πράκτορες* had no farther duties to perform, except, perhaps, to give information of the default to the senate.

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[1] *Æsch. c. Timarch.*, 5; *Demosth. c. Theocr.*, 1328.

[2] *Æsch. c. Timarch.*, 3; *Demosth. c. Pant.*, 973.

2. Πωλῆται.

I. The *πωλῆται* were a board of ten officers or magistrates (for they are called *ἀρχή* by Harpocration), whose duty it was to grant leases of the public lands and mines, and also to let the revenues arising from the customs, taxes, confiscations, and forfeitures. Of such letting the word *πωλεῖν* (not *μισθοῦν*) was generally used, and also the correlative words *ὠνεῖσθαι* and *πρίασθαι*. Their official place of business was called *πωλητήριον*. One was chosen from each tribe. A chairman presided at their meetings.[1]

II. On the letting of the revenue they were assisted by the managers of the theoric fund, and they acted under the authority of the Senate of Five Hundred, who exercised a general control over the financial department of the administration. Resident aliens, who did not pay their residence-tax (*μετοίκιον*), were summoned before them, and if found to have committed default, were sold in a room called *πωλητήριον τοῦ μετοικίου*.[2] Other persons who had forfeited their freedom to the state were also sold by the *πωλῆται*, such as foreigners who had been convicted of usurping the rights of citizenship.[3]

3. Ἀποδέκται.

I. The *ἀποδέκται*, or receivers, were public officers at Athens, who were introduced by Clisthenes in place of the ancient *κωλακρέται*. These *κωλακρέται* were ancient magistrates who had the management of all financial matters in the time of the kings, and they are said to have derived their name from collecting certain parts of the victims at sacrifices (*ἐκ τοῦ ἀγείρειν τὰς κωλᾶς*). After Clisthenes had deprived them, as above mentioned, of the charge of the finances, they had only to provide for the meals in the Prytaneum, and subsequently had likewise to pay the fees to the dicasts, when the practice of paying the dicasts was introduced by Pericles.

II. The *ἀποδέκται*, who took the place of the *κωλακρέται*, as we have just said, in matters of finance, were ten in number, one for each tribe, and their duty was to receive all the ordinary taxes, and distribute them to the several branches of the administration which were entitled to them. They accordingly kept lists of persons indebted to the state, made entries of all moneys that were paid in, and erased the names of the debtors from the lists. They had the power to decide causes connected with the subjects under their

[1] *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 155, *seqq.*, 2d ed.
[2] *Böckh, l. c.*
[2] *Demosth. c. Aristog.*, 787.

management; though, if the matters in dispute were of importance, they were obliged to bring them for decision into the ordinary courts.[1]

4. Ταμίαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

I. These were ten in number, chosen annually by lot from the class of *Pentacosiomedimni*, and afterward, when the distinction of classes had ceased to exist, from among the wealthiest citizens of Athens.[2] They kept not only all the treasures belonging to the temples, but also the state treasure (*ὅσια χρήματα*, as contradistinguished from *ἱερά*), under the care of the treasurers of Pallas (Minerva).[3] All the funds of the state were considered as being in a manner consecrated to Pallas (Minerva); while, on the other hand, the people reserved to themselves the right of making use of the sacred moneys, as well as the other property of temples, if the safety of the state should require it.

II. Payments made to the temples were received by the treasurers in the presence of some members of the senate, just as public moneys were by the *Apodectæ*; and then the treasurers became responsible for their safe custody.[4]

5. Ταμίας τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου.

I. This was a more important personage than those last mentioned. He was not a mere keeper of moneys, like them, nor a mere receiver, like the *Apodectæ*, but a general paymaster, who received through the *Apodectæ* all money which was to be disbursed for the purposes of the administration (except the property taxes, which were paid into the war office, and the tribute from the allies), and then distributed it in such manner as he was required to do by law. The surplus, if any, he paid into the war office or the theoric fund. As this person knew all the channels through which the public money had to flow, and exercised a general superintendence over the expenditure, he was competent to give advice to the people upon financial measures, with a view to improve the revenue, introduce economy, and prevent abuses. He is sometimes called *ταμίας τῆς διοικήσεως*, or *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*, and may be regarded as a sort of minister of finance.[5]

II. He was elected by *χειροτονία*, and held his office for four years, but was capable of being re-elected. A law, however, was passed during the administration of Lycurgus, prohibiting a re-election.

[1] *Böckh*, p. 159; *Pollux*, viii., 97. [2] *Harpocr. et Suid., s. v.* Ταμίαι.
[3] *Aristoph., Plut.*, 1194. [4] *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 160, *seqq.* [5] *Id. ib.*, p. 166.

The power of this officer was by no means free from control, inasmuch as any individual was at liberty to propose financial measures, or institute criminal proceedings for malversation or waste of the public funds; and there was an *ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς διοικήσεως* appointed to check the accounts of his superior.

III. The money disbursed by the treasurer of the revenue was sometimes paid directly to the various persons in the employ of the government, sometimes through subordinate pay officers. Many public functionaries had their own paymasters, who were dependent on the *ταμίας τῆς προσόδου*, receiving their funds from him, and then distributing them in their respective departments.

IV. The war fund at Athens (independently of the tribute) was provided from two sources: 1st, the property-tax, or *εἰσφορά*, of which we have already spoken; and, 2dly, the surplus of the yearly revenue, which remained after defraying the expenses of the civil administration. Of the ten *στρατηγοί* who were annually elected to preside over the war department, one was called *στρατηγὸς ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*, to whom the management of the war fund was intrusted. He had under him a treasurer called *ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν*, who gave out the pay to the troops, and defrayed all other expenses incident to the service. So much of the surplus revenue as was not required for the purposes of war was to be paid by the treasurer of the revenue into the theoric fund, of which, after the archonship of Euclides, special managers were created.[1]

V. The state treasury was kept in the Opisthodomus of the Parthenon, of which we have spoken in another part of the volume (page 151).

[1] *Böckh*, p. 168.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

GREEK MONEY.

I. It would appear, from a passage in Sophocles,[1] that, in the time of that poet, gold was rare at Athens. Indeed, throughout the whole of Greece, though gold was by no means unknown, it appears to have been obtained chiefly through the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, which possessed it in abundance. The Homeric poems speak constantly of gold as being laid up in treasuries, and used in large quantities for purposes of ornament; but this is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that Homer was an Asiatic Greek. The chief quarters from which the Greeks procured their gold were India, Arabia, Armenia, Colchis, and Troas. It was found mixed with the sands of the Pactolus and other rivers.

II. Almost the only method of purifying gold known to the ancients seems to have been that of grinding and then roasting it, and by this process they succeeded in getting it very pure. This is what we are to understand by the phrase *χρυσίον ἀπέφθον* in Thucydides,[2] and by the word *obrussam* in Pliny.[3]

III. The ancients were acquainted with silver from the earliest known periods. It is constantly mentioned in Homer, but in a manner which proves that it was comparatively scarce. It was much more abundant in Asia than in Greece Proper, where there were not many silver mines. The relative value of gold and silver differed considerably at different periods in Greek and Roman history. Herodotus[4] mentions it as 13 to 1; Plato[5] as 12 to 1; Menander[6] as 10 to 1; and Livy as 10 to 1, about B.C. 189. According to Suetonius, Julius Cæsar on one occasion exchanged silver for gold in the proportion of 9 to 1; but the most usual proportion under the early Roman emperors was about 12 to 1; and from Constantine to Justinian, about 14 to 1, or 15 to 1.

IV. In the earliest times the Greeks obtained their silver chiefly as an article of commerce from the Phocæans and Samians; but they soon began to work the rich mines of their own country and its islands. The chief mines were in Siphnos, Thessaly, and Attica. In the last-named country, the silver mines of Laurium af-

[1] *Antig.*, 1038. [2] *Thucyd.*, ii., 13. [3] *Plin., H. N.*, xxxiii., 3, 19.
[4] *Herod.*, iii., 95. [5] *Plat., Hipp.*, c. 6, p. 231. [6] *Ap. Polluc.*, ix., 76.

forded an abundant supply, and were generally regarded as the chief source of the wealth of Athens. In the time of Demosthenes, however, the profit arising from them had greatly diminished; and in the second century of the Christian era they were no longer worked.[1] The Romans obtained most of their silver from the very rich mines of Spain, which had been previously worked by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, and which, though abandoned for those of Mexico, are still not exhausted. The ore from which the silver was obtained was called by the Greeks *silver-earth* (*ἀργυρῖτις γῆ*, or simply *ἀργυρῖτις*).[2]

1. GREEK GOLD MONEY.

I. The time when gold was first coined at Athens is very uncertain. Aristophanes speaks in the *Frogs*,[3] 406 B. C., of *τὸ καινὸν χρυσίον*, "the new gold money," which he immediately after calls *πονηρὰ χαλκία*. The character of the Attic gold coins now in existence, and their small number (about a dozen), is a strong proof against the existence of a gold currency at Athens at an early period. There are three Attic staters in the British Museum, and one in the Hunterian museum at Glasgow, which there is good reason to believe are genuine; their weights agree exactly with the Attic standard. In the character of the impression they bear a striking resemblance to the old Attic silver; but they differ from it by the absence of the thick, bulky form, and the high relief of the impression which is seen in the old silver of Athens, and in the old gold coins of other states.

II. In thickness, volume, and the depth of the die from which they were struck, they closely resemble the Macedonian coinage. Now, as upon the rise of the Macedonian empire, gold became plentiful in Greece, and was coined in large quantities by the Macedonian kings, it is not improbable that Athens, like other Greek states, may have followed their example, and issued a gold coinage in imitation of her ancient silver. On the whole, it appears most probable that gold money was not coined at Athens in the period between Pericles and Alexander the Great, if we except the solitary issue of gold in the year 407, already alluded to, and which appears to have been a debased coinage.

III. From a very early period, however, the Asiatic nations, and the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and the adjacent islands, as well as Sicily and Cyrene, possessed a gold coinage which was more or less current in Greece. Herodotus says[4] that the Lydians were

[1] *Paus.*, i., 1, 1. [2] *Xen.*, *Vectig.*, i., 5; iv., 2. [3] *Frogs*, 719. [4] *Herod.*, i., 94.

the first who coined gold, and the stater of Crœsus appears to have been the earliest gold coin known to the Greeks. The Daric was a Persian coin, now generally supposed to have been first coined in the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and to have derived its name from that monarch. It was equal in value to twenty silver Attic drachmæ. Staters of Cyzicus and Phocæa had also a considerable currency in Greece. There was a gold coinage in Samos as early as the time of Polycrates.[1] The islands of Siphnos and Thasos, which possessed gold mines, appear to have had a gold coinage at an early period. In most of the coins of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, the metal is very base. The Macedonian gold coinage came into circulation in Greece in the time of Philip, and continued in use till the subjection of Greece to the Romans. Some additional remarks on the Greek gold coinage will be made toward the close of the present chapter.

2. GREEK SILVER MONEY.

I. The oldest Greek coins now extant, and capable of being assigned, without much hesitation, to their proper date, are the silver pieces of Alexander the First of Macedon, minted about the year of the battle of Marathon, or B.C. 490.[2]

II. The metal of the greatest importance to Athens was silver. It had been employed by the Athenians for their coinage from the earliest periods of their history; it was obtained, as already remarked, in considerable quantity, from their mines at Laurium; and it formed an important item in their national revenue. The Athenian silver coinage, however, was more remarkable for extreme purity of the metal than for any delicacy of workmanship. The truth is, the ancient coinage had recommended itself so strongly by its purity, and had become so universally known among Greeks and barbarians by its primitive emblems, that it would have been impossible to have made any considerable change in the form or workmanship of the coin without creating a great degree of suspicion against it, and eventually contracting its circulation. The specimens, accordingly, of Athenian silver are very numerous, and, though evidently minted at periods very different from each other, retain so great a degree of correspondence, as implies either much political wisdom on the part of Athens, or, at least, a willing acquiescence in the authority of public opinion.[3]

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[1] *Herod.*, iii., 56.

[2] *Cardwell's Lectures on the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 111.

[3] *Id. ib.*, p. 18.

III. Silver coins were the only legal currency at Athens. The gold coins of foreign countries, as we have already said, being much employed in the operations of their commerce, were also received freely in payments at the treasury, and in the larger dealings of their home-trade; but they appear to have circulated according to their intrinsic value, their money-price being determined by some commercial regulation, and expressed in Athenian currency.

IV. We will now proceed to give a tabular view of the Attic copper and silver money, premising that the *mina* and the *talent*, which we meet with so frequently in Athenian calculations, were not coins, but merely money of account. In computing, one hundred drachmæ made a *mina*, and sixty minæ a *talent*.

ATTIC COPPER AND SILVER MONEY.

		$	Cts.	Mills.
Lepton	(Λεπτόν) =			0.5
Chalcus	(Χαλκοῦς) =			3.7
Quarter Obolus	(Δίχαλκον) =			7.3
Half Obolus	(Ἡμιοβόλιον) =		1	4.7
Obolus	(Ὀβολός) =		2	9.4
Diobolus	(Διώβολον) =		5	8.7
Triobolus	(Τριώβολον) =		8	8.
Tetrobolus	(Τετρώβολον) =		11	7.4
Drachma	(Δραχμή) =		17	6.1
Didrachma	(Δίδραχμον) =		35	2.3
Tridrachma	(Τρίδραχμον) =		52	8.5
Tetradrachma	(Τετράδραχμον) =		70	4.6
Mina	(Μνᾶ) =	17	61	6.
Talent	(Τάλαντον) =	1056	96	

V. The *Obolus* in later times was of bronze,[1] but in the best times of Athens we only read of silver oboli. The *Lepton* and *Chalcus* were both copper coins. The principal silver coin was the *Drachma*; but the Athenians had also separate silver coins from four drachmæ to a quarter of an obolus. Among those now preserved, the tetradrachm is commonly found; but we possess no specimens of the tridrachm, and only a few of the didrachm. Specimens of the tetrobolus, triobolus, diobolus, half obolus, and quarter obolus are still found.

VI. Like all other denominations of money, the word *δραχμή* (sometimes written *δραγμή*) no doubt signified originally a weight, and it continued to be used in this sense as one of the subdivisions

[1] *Lucian, Contempl.*, § xi., vol. i., p. 504, ed. Reiz.

of the talent, of which it was the six thousandth part. The original meaning of the word is "a handful." So the primitive meaning of the term ὀβολός appears to have been "a nail" or "spike;" and if we suppose that in the barter of early times iron or copper nails were used as money, six of these would make "a handful" or δραχμή.[1] The word τάλαντον was originally a generic term for *weight*, and signified "a pair of scales," and "any thing weighed out," as well as a definite weight. The word μνᾶ, which is later than the Homeric poems, is undoubtedly of Oriental origin, and probably means any thing divided, apportioned, or determined, being akin to the Hebrew *maneh*, and to μνάομαι, *monere*, *moneta*, &c. These words concur with all the other information we have upon the subject, and with the very necessity of the case to prove that every system of money is founded upon a previously existing system of weight.

VII. The tetradrachm in later times was called *Stater* (Στατήρ[2]), but it has been doubted whether it bore that name in the flourishing times of the republic.[3] We know that *stater*, in writers of that age, usually signifies a gold coin, equal in value to twenty drachmæ; but there appear strong reasons for believing that the tetradrachm, even in the age of Thucydides and Xenophon, was sometimes called by this name.[4]

VIII. The two chief standards in the currencies of the Grecian states were the Attic, of which we have just spoken, and the Æginetan. The latter appears to have been used in Greece in very early times, and was adopted in almost all the states of the Peloponnesus, in Bœotia, and in some other parts of Northern Greece, while the Attic standard prevailed most in the maritime and commercial states. According to Pollux, the Æginetan drachma was equal to ten Attic oboli, and the Æginetan talent to ten thousand Attic drachmæ. According to modern calculations, the Æginetan talent was equal to £406 5*s*., or $1761 60.

IX. The Greek gold money has already been alluded to, but a few remarks of a special nature fall more naturally under the present head. The principal Greek gold staters were the following: 1. The *Attic Stater*, to which we have already alluded, as not coined until after the time of Alexander the Great. 2. The *Stater of Cyzicus*, common in Greece, and especially at Athens. It was remarkable for the beauty of its execution, and, according to Demosthenes,[5] it

[1] *Knight, Proleg. ad Hom.*, § 56. Comp. *Plut., Lys.*, 17.

[2] *Phot., s. v.* Στατήρ; *Hesych., s. v.* Γλαῦκες Λαυριωτικαί.

[3] *Hussey*, p. 49.

[4] *Thucyd.*, iii., 70; *Arnold, ad loc.*; *Xen., Hell.*, 5, 2, 22.

[5] *Demosth. p. Phorm.*, p. 914.

passed at a particular period (a little after B.C. 335), on the Bosporus, for twenty-eight Attic drachmæ. Several Cyzicene staters exist, but none of them come up to the weight which this would indicate, namely, one hundred and eighty grains. Hence we may conclude that the price of gold on the Bosporus was at that time unusually high. 3. The *Stater of Lampsacus*, mentioned in an Attic inscription of B.C. 434. 4. The *Stater of Phocæa*, mentioned by Thucydides[1] and Demosthenes.[2] 5. The *Stater of Macedonia*, coined by Philip II. and Alexander the Great, after the standard of the Attic didrachm. Under those princes it came into general circulation in Greece and throughout the Macedonian empire. The extant specimens of this coinage are very numerous. Besides the stater itself, there were also double staters, and the halves (*ἡμιχρυσοῦς*, *ἡμιστατῆρες*), quarters, thirds, sixths, and twelfths of the stater. The coins of the last four denominations are, however, much less common than the single, double, and half staters.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

BANKERS.

I. The bankers at Athens were called *τραπεζῖται*, from their tables (*τράπεζαι*) at which they sat while carrying on their business. Public or state banks seem to have been a thing unknown in antiquity, though the state must have exercised some kind of superintendence, since without it it is scarcely possible to conceive how persons could have placed such unlimited confidence in the bankers as they are known to have done at Athens.

II. They had their stands or tables in the market-place,[3] and although the banking and money-changing business was mostly carried on by *μέτοικοι*, or resident aliens and freedmen, still these persons do not seem to have been looked upon with any disrespect, and the business itself was not disreputable. Their principal occupation was that of changing money at an agio;[4] but they frequently took money at a moderate premium from persons who did not like to occupy themselves with the management of their own affairs. Thus the father of Demosthenes kept a part of his capital in the hands of bankers.[5] These persons then lent the money with profit to others, and thus, to a certain degree, obtained possession of a

[1] *Thucyd.*, iv., 52.
[2] *Demosth. c. Bœot.*, p. 1019.
[3] *Plat., Apol.*, p. 17; *Hipp. Min.*, p. 368.
[4] *Isocr., Trapez.*, 21; *Pollux*, iii., 84.
[5] *Dem. c. Aphob.*, i., p. 816.

monopoly. The greater part of the capital with which they did business in this way belonged to others;[1] but sometimes they also employed capital of their own.

III. Although their sole object was pecuniary gain, and not by any means to connect themselves with wealthy or illustrious families, yet they acquired great credit at Athens, and formed business connections in all the principal cities of Greece, whereby their business was effectually supported. They even maintained so great a reputation, that not only were they considered as secure merely by virtue of their calling, but such confidence was placed in them, that sometimes business was transacted with them without witnesses,[2] and that money and contracts of debt were deposited with them, and agreements were concluded or cancelled in their presence.[3]

IV. The great importance of this business is clear from the wealth of Pasion, whose bank produced a net annual profit of one hundred minæ.[4] There are, however, instances of bankers losing every thing they possessed, and becoming utterly bankrupt. That these bankers took a high interest when they lent out money scarcely needs any proof; their loans on deposits of goods are sufficient evidence. Their usual interest was thirty-six per cent., an interest that scarcely occurs any where except in cases of money lent on bottomry. The only instance of a bank recognized and conducted on behalf of the state occurs at Byzantium, where at one time it was let by the republic to capitalists to farm.[5]

CHAPTER XXVIII.

INTEREST OF MONEY.

I. The Greek term for interest is τόκος. At Athens, Solon, among other reforms, abolished the law by which a creditor was empowered to sell or enslave a debtor, and prohibited the lending of money upon a person's own body.[6] No other restriction, we are told, was introduced by him, and the rate of interest was left to the discretion of the lender. The only case in which the rate was prescribed by law was in the event of a man's separating from his lawful wife, and not refunding the dowry which he had received with her. Her trustees or guardians (οἱ κύριοι) could in that case proceed against

[1] *Dem. p. Phorm.*, p. 948.
[2] *Isocr., Trapez.*, 2.
[3] *Dem. c. Callip.*, p. 1243.
[4] *Dem. p. Phorm.*, p. 946.
[5] *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 126, *seqq.*, 2d ed.
[6] *Plut., Sol.*, 15.

him for the principal, with lawful interest at the rate of eighteen per cent.

II. Any rate might be expressed or represented in two different ways: 1. By the number of oboli or drachmæ paid by the *month* for every *mina*. 2. By the part of the principal (*τὸ ἀρχαῖον* or *κεφάλαιον*) paid as interest either annually or for the whole period of the loan. According to the former method, which was generally used when money was lent upon real security (*τόκοι ἔγγυοι* or *ἐγγεῖοι*), different rates were expressed, as follows: ten per cent. by *ἐπὶ πέντε ὀβολοῖς*, *i. e.*, five oboli per month for every mina, or sixty oboli a year=10 drachmæ=$\frac{1}{10}$ of a mina. Similarly,

12 per cent. by *ἐπὶ δραχμῇ* . . . . . per month.
16 per cent. " *ἐπ' ὀκτὼ ὀβολοῖς* . . . . . " "
18 per cent. " *ἐπ' ἐννέα ὀβολοῖς* . . . . . " "
24 per cent. " *ἐπὶ δυσὶ δραχμαῖς* . . . . . " "
36 per cent. " *ἐπὶ τρισὶ δραχμαῖς* . . . . . " "
5 per cent. " *ἐπὶ τρίτῳ ἡμιοβολίῳ* (prob.) . . . " "

III. Another method was generally adopted in cases of bottomry, where money was lent upon the ship's cargo or freightage (*ἐπὶ τῷ ναύλῳ*), or the ship itself, for a specified time, commonly that of the voyage. By this method the following rates were thus represented: 10 per cent. by *τόκοι ἐπιδέκατοι*, *i. e.*, interest at the rate of a tenth; 12½, 16⅔, 20, 33⅓, by *τόκοι ἐπόγδοοι*, *ἕβδομοι*, *ἐπίπεμπτοι*, and *ἐπίτριτοι* respectively. So that, as Böckh remarks, the *τόκος ἐπιδέκατος* is equal to the *ἐπὶ πέντε ὀβολοῖς*:[1]

The *τόκος ἐπόγδοος* = the *ἐπὶ δραχμῇ*, nearly.
" " *ἕβδομος* = " *ἐπ' ὀκτὼ ὀβολοῖς*, "
" " *ἐπίπεμπτος* = " *ἐπ' ἐννέα ὀβολοῖς*, "
" " *ἐπίτριτος* = " *ἐπὶ τρισὶ δραχμαῖς*, "

IV. The rates above explained frequently occur in the orators; the lowest in ordinary use at Athens being the *τόκος ἐπιδέκατος*, or 10 per cent., the highest in ordinary use, the *τόκος ἐπίτριτος*, or 33⅓ per cent. The latter, however, was chiefly confined to cases of bottomry, and denotes more than it appears to do, as the time of a ship's voyage was generally less than a year. Its near equivalent, the *ἐπὶ τρισὶ δραχμαῖς*, or 36 per cent., was sometimes, however, exacted by bankers at Athens. The *ἐπὶ δραχμῇ*, or rate of 12 per cent., was common in the time of Demosthenes,[2] but appears to have been thought low. From various passages in the orators, we may conclude that the usual rates of interest at Athens about the time of Demosthenes varied from 12 to 18 per cent. That they were near-

[1] *Böckh, Publ. Econ.*, p. 123, *seqq.*, 2d ed. [2] *Dem. c. Aphob.*, p. 820, 16.

ly the same in range, and similarly expressed, throughout the rest of Greece, appears from the authorities quoted by Böckh.

V. Bottomry (*τὸ ναυτικόν, τόκοι ναυτικοί*, or *ἔκδοσις*) was considered a matter of so much importance at Athens, that fraud or breach of contract in transactions connected with it was sometimes punished with death.[1] In these cases, the loans were generally made upon the cargo shipped, sometimes on the vessel itself, and sometimes on the money received or due for passengers and freightage (*ἐπὶ τῷ ναύλῳ*). The principal (*ἔκδοσις*), as well as the interest, could only be recovered in case the ship met with no disaster in her voyage, a clause to this effect being generally inserted in all agreements of bottomry. The additional risk incurred in loans of this description was compensated for by a high rate of interest, and the lenders took every precaution against negligence or deception on the part of the borrowers; the latter, also, were careful to have witnesses present when the cargo was put on board, for the purpose of deposing, if necessary, to a *bona fide* shipping of the required amount of goods.[2]

Dec. 3. 1852.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PRIVATE LIFE.

DRESS.

The same remark applies to the Greek dress as to the Roman, namely, that the separate portions of it continued, from the earliest to the latest period, essentially unchanged. The greatest simplicity prevailed in it, and is partly attributable to the mildness of the climate, partly to the inborn taste for simple nobleness of form There was no pinching up the proportions of the body, no multiplicity of garments drawn one over another, or useless display of heterogeneous ornaments. The few portions of the Greek dress may be divided into two chief classes, *ἐνδύματα*, and *ἐπιβλήματα* or *περιβλήματα*. A general term for this latter division is *ἀναβολή*.[3]

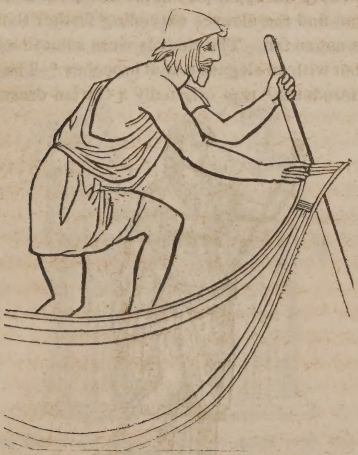
1. Ἐνδύματα.

I. By *ἐνδύματα* are meant under garments. The sole *ἔνδυμα*, however, worn by the Greeks, was the *χιτών* or *Tunic*. Of this there were two kinds, the Dorian and the Ionian. The Dorian chiton, as worn by males, was a short woollen shirt without sleeves; the

[1] *Dem. c. Phorm.*, p. 922, 3.
[2] *Id. ib.*, p. 915, 13.
[3] *Becker's Charicles*, p. 304, Eng. trans.

Ionian was a long linen garment with sleeves. The under garment, afterward distinguished as the Dorian, seems to have been originally worn in the whole of Greece. Thucydides[1] speaks as if the long linen garment worn at Athens a little before his time was the most ancient kind, since he attributes the adoption of a simpler mode of dress to the Lacedæmonians, but we know with tolerable certainty that this dress was brought over to Athens by the Ionians of Asia.[2] It was commonly worn at Athens during the Persian wars, but appears to have entirely gone out of fashion about the time of Pericles, from which period the Dorian chiton was the under garment universally adopted by men throughout the whole of Greece.[3]

II. In later times, the chiton worn by men was of two kinds, the *ἀμφιμάσχαλος*, and the *ἑτερομάσχαλος*, the former the dress of freemen, the latter that of slaves.[4] The *ἀμφιμάσχαλος* appears to have signified not only a garment which had two sleeves, but also one which had openings for both arms; while the *ἑτερομάσχαλος*, on the contrary, had only one arm-hole for the left arm, leaving the right, with the shoulder and a part of the breast, uncovered, whence it is called *ἐξωμίς*. A representation of it is here given:



III. When the sleeves of the chiton reached down to the hands,

[1] *Thucyd.*, i., 6. [2] *Müller, de Minerva Poliade*, p. 41; *Dor.*, iv., 2, 4.
[3] *Athen.*, xii., p. 512, *c.*; *Eustath.*, p. 954, 47; *Aristoph., Equit.*, 1330.
[4] *Pollux*, vii., 47.

it seems to have been properly called *χειριδωτός*, though this word appears to have been frequently used as equivalent to *ἀμφιμάσχαλος*.[1]

IV. The distinction between the Doric and Ionic chiton still continued, however, in the dress of women. The Spartan virgins only wore this one garment, and had no upper kind of clothing, whence it is sometimes called *Himation* as well as *Chiton*. The married women, however, among the Spartans, always wore an upper garment when they appeared in public. This Doric chiton was made, as stated above, of woollen stuff; it was without sleeves, and was fastened over both shoulders by clasps or buckles (*πόρπαι*, *περόναι*), which were often of considerable size.[2] It was frequently so short as not to reach the knee.[3] It was only joined together on one side, and on the other was left partly open or slit up (*σχιστὸς χιτών*[4]), to allow a free motion of the limbs. The two skirts (*πτέρυγες*) thus frequently flew open.

V. The Ionic chiton, on the contrary, was a long and loose garment, reaching to the feet (*ποδήρης*), with wide sleeves (*κόραι*), and was generally made of linen. The sleeves, however, appear usually to have covered only the upper part of the arm; for in ancient works of art we seldom find the sleeves extending farther than the elbow, and sometimes not so far. The sleeves were sometimes slit up, and fastened together with an elegant row of brooches.[5] The Ionic chiton, according to Herodotus,[6] was originally a Carian dress, and passed

[1] *Hesych.*, *s. v.* ἀμφιμάσχαλος. [2] *Herod.*, v., 87; *Eurip.*, *Hec.*, 933; *Schol. ad loc.*
[3] *Clem. Alex.*, *Pæd.*, ii., 10, p. 258. [4] *Pollux*, vii., 55.
[5] *Ælian*, *V. H.*, i., 18. [6] *Herod.*, *l. c.*

over to Athens from Ionia. The women at Athens originally wore the Doric chiton, but were compelled to change it for the Ionic after they had killed, with the buckles or clasps of their dresses, the single Athenian who had returned alive from the expedition against Ægina, because there were no buckles or clasps required in the Ionic dress. The Muses are generally represented with this chiton. The opposite wood-cut represents the Muse Thalia thus arrayed.

VI. Both kinds of dress were fastened round the middle with a girdle; and as the Ionic chiton was usually longer than the body, part of it was drawn up, so that the dress might not reach farther than the feet, and the part which was so drawn up overhung or overlapped the girdle, and was called *κόλπος*.

VII. There was a peculiar kind of dress, which seems to have been a species of double chiton, called *διπλοΐς*, *διπλοΐδιον*, and *ἡμιδιπλοΐδιον*. Some writers suppose that it was a kind of little cloak thrown over the chiton, in which case it would be an amictus, and could not be regarded as a chiton; but Becker and others maintain that it was not a separate article of dress, but was merely the upper part of the cloth forming the chiton, which was larger than was required for the ordinary chiton, and was therefore thrown over the front and back. The following cuts will give a clearer idea of the form of this garment than any description.

VIII. Besides the word *χιτών*, we also meet with the diminutives *χιτωνίσκος* and *χιτώνιον*, the former of which is generally applied to a garment worn by men, and the latter to one worn by women, though this distinction is not always preserved. A question arises whether these two words relate to a different garment from the chiton, or mean merely a smaller one. Many modern writers think that

the chiton was not worn immediately next the skin, but that there was worn under it a shirt (*χιτωνίσκος*) or chemise (*χιτώνιον*). In the dress of men, however, this does not appear to have been the case, since we find *χιτωνίσκος* frequently used as identical with *χιτών*, and spoken of as the only under garment worn by individuals.[1] It appears, on the contrary, that females were accustomed to wear a chemise (*χιτώνιον*) under their chiton.[2]

IX. It was the usual practice among the Greeks to wear an himation or outer garment over the chiton, but frequently the chiton was worn alone. A person who wore only a chiton was called *μονοχίτων* (*οἰοχίτων* in Homer[3]), an epithet given to the Spartan virgins, as explained above. In the same way, a person who wore only a himation or outer garment was called *ἀχίτων*.[4] The Athenian youths, in the earlier times, wore only the *χιτών*, and when it became the fashion, in the Peloponnesian war, to wear an outer garment over it, it was regarded as a mark of effeminacy.

2. Ἐπιβλήματα or περιβλήματα.

I. The *ἐπίβλημα* or *περίβλημα* most commonly in use was the *ἱμάτιον*. The English term *cloak*, though commonly adopted as the proper translation of the term, conveys no accurate conception of the form, material, or use of the garment in question. The article designated by it was a rectangular piece of cloth, exactly, or, at least, nearly square.[5] Hence it could easily be divided, without loss or waste, into four parts.[6] It was indeed used in the very form in which it was taken from the loom, being made entirely by the weaver,[7] without any aid from the tailor except to repair (*ἀκεῖσθαι*) the injuries which it had sustained by time.

II. Although *ἱμάτια* were finished for use without the intervention of the tailor, they were submitted to the embroiderer (*ποικιλτής*, *πλουμάριος*[8]), and still more commonly to the fuller, who received them both when they were new from the loom and when they were sullied by use. Hence it was a recommendation of this article of attire to be well trodden (*εὔστιπτον*[9]) and well washed (*εὐπλυνές*[10]). The men who performed the operation are called *οἱ πλυνῆς*, *i. e.*, "the washers," in an inscription found in the stadium at Athens.

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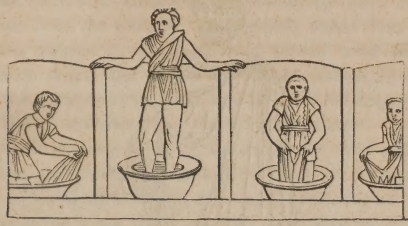
[1] *Plat., Hipp. Min.*, p. 368; *Dem. c. Mid.*, p. 583, 21.
[2] *Athen.*, xii., p. 590, *f*; *Aristoph., Lysist.*, 48, 150.
[3] *Od.*, xiv., 489.
[4] *Xen., Mem.*, i., 6, 2; *Ælian, V. H.*, vii., 13; *Diod. Sic.*, xi., 26.
[5] *Posidon. ap. Athen.*, v., p. 213.
[6] *St. John*, xix., 23.
[7] *Plat., Charm.*, p. 86, 98, *ed. Heind.*
[8] *Æschin. c. Timarch.*, p. 118, *ed. Reiske.*
[9] *Apoll. Rhod.*, ii., 30.
[10] *Hom., Od.*, viii., 425.

Another appellation which they bore, namely, *οἱ στιβεῖς*, "the treaders,"[1] is well illustrated by the following wood-cut, representing them at their work.



III. The method of adjusting the *ἱμάτιον* was exactly the same as the older and simpler way of wearing the Roman toga. It was first thrown over the left shoulder, and then round the back to the right side, and then above the right arm or below it, and again brought over the left shoulder or arm. This was called *ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἀναβάλλεσθαι* or *ἀμπισχνεῖσθαι*, and according to a man's skill or awkwardness in doing it was he pronounced genteel or clownish. At an earlier period it was the fashion, as with the Romans (*cohibere brachium*), to keep the right hand in the garment, *ἐντὸς τὴν χεῖρα ἔχειν*, which rule does not apply to orators alone. The *ἱμάτιον* ought to reach to the knee at least, and a shorter *ἀναβολή* was considered unbecoming. Usually it reached even lower. Still, when Athens was in her zenith, so long a garment would have been thought a mark of luxury and pride.[2]

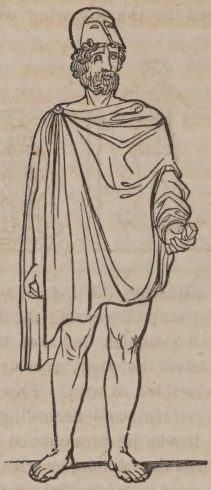
IV. Another very common method was to fasten the *ἱμάτιον* with a brooch over the right shoulder (*ἀμφιπερονᾶσθαι*[3]), leaving the right arm at liberty, and to pass the middle of it either under the left arm, so as to leave that arm at liberty also, or over the left shoulder, so as to cover the left arm. We see Phocion attired in this last-mentioned fashion in the admired statue of him preserved in the Vatican, a cut representing which is given on the following page. The attachment of the *ἱμάτιον* by means of a brooch caused it to depend in a graceful manner, and contributed mainly to the production of those dignified and elegant forms which we so much admire in ancient sculptures. When a person sat he often allowed his *ἱμάτιον* to fall from his shoulder, so as to envelop the lower part of his body only.

V. The Greeks wore different *ἱμάτια* in summer and in winter. The thin *ἱμάτιον*, made for summer wear, was called *λῆδος* (*dim.*

[1] *Schol. in Apoll. Rhod., l. c.*

[2] *Becker's Charicles*, p. 306, Eng. trans.

[3] *Hom., Il.*, x., 131, *seqq.*



ληδάριον),[1] and σπεῖρον (*dim.* σπειρίον), in contradistinction from the warm ἱμάτιον with a long nap, which was worn in winter.[2] This distinction in dress was, however, adopted only by those who could afford it. Socrates wore the same ἱμάτιον both in summer and winter. Philosophers wore a coarse and cheap ἱμάτιον, which, from being exposed to much wear, was called τρίβων or τριβώνιον.[3] The same was worn also by poor persons,[4] and in a later age by monks and hermits. These persons often went without a tunic, and they sometimes supplied its place by the greater size of their ἱμάτιον. It is recorded of the philosopher Antisthenes that "he first doubled his ἱμάτιον,"[5] in which contrivance he was followed by his brother cynics, and especially by Diogenes, who also slept and died in it, and who, according to some, was the inventor of this fashion.[6] The large ἱμάτιον, thus used, was called διπλοΐς, and also ἐξωμίς, because, being worn without the fibula, it left the right shoulder bare.

VI. The boys at Athens used in early times to wear the simple chiton, but toward the period of the Peloponnesian war they also began to have an upper garment.[7] The boys of Sparta were allowed

[1] *Aristoph., Aves*, 713, *seqq.*
[2] *Moeris, s. v.* χλαῖνα.
[3] *Aristoph., Plut.*, 897; *Athen.*, v., p. 211.
[4] *Isæus, de Dic.*, p. 94, *ed. Reiske.*
[5] *Diog. Laert.*, vi., 6, 13.
[6] *Id.*, vi., 22, 77.
[7] *Aristoph., Nubes*, 964, 978.

the chiton until their twelfth year; after this the *τρίβων* was their sole article of dress. After the Athenian had attained to the age of an ephebus, his proper dress was the *chlamys* (*χλαμύς*), an entirely different dress from the *ἱμάτιον*. It originally came from Thessaly or Macedonia, whence it seems to have spread over all Greece. The time when it got into vogue throughout Greece is unknown. The first writer supposed to have mentioned it is Sappho. It was worn from about seventeen to twenty years of age. It was also worn by the military, especially of high rank, over their body armor; and by hunters and travellers, more particularly on horseback.

VII. The chlamys was for the most part woollen, and it differed from the *ἱμάτιον* in being much smaller, finer, thinner, more variegated in color, and more susceptible of ornament. It differed, moreover, in being oblong instead of square, its length being generally about twice its breadth. To the regular oblong *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* (see the following wood-cut), gores were added, either in the form of a right-angled triangle, *a*, *e*, *f*, producing the modification *a*, *e*, *g*, *d*, which is exemplified in the left-hand figure of Mercury, or of an obtuse-angled triangle, *a*, *e*, *b*, producing the modification *a*, *e*, *b*, *c*, *g*, *d*, which is exemplified in the figure of a youth from the Panathenaic frieze in the British Museum. These gores were called *πτέρυγες*, "wings," and the ancient geographers compared the form of the inhabited earth (*ἡ οἰκουμένη*) to that of a chlamys.

VIII. The *chlamydes* worn by youths, by soldiers, and by hunters, differed in color and fineness according to their destination, and the age and rank of the wearer. The *χλαμὺς ἐφηβική* was probably yellow or saffron-colored, and the *χλαμὺς στρατιωτική* scarlet. On the other hand, the hunter generally went out in a chlamys of a dull, unconspicuous color, as best adapted to escape the notice of wild animals.[1] The more ornamental chlamydes, being designed for females, were tastefully decorated with a border; and those worn by

[1] *Pollux*, v., 18.

the Asiatics were sometimes embroidered, or interwoven with gold. Actors, also, had their chlamys ornamented with gold.[1]

IX. The usual mode of wearing the chlamys was to pass one of its shorter sides (*a*, *d*) round the neck, and to fasten it by means of a brooch, either over the breast, in which case it hung down the back, reaching to the calves of the legs, or over the right shoulder, so as to cover the left arm, as is seen in the following wood-cut, and in the well-known example of the Belvidere Apollo:

n other instances it was made to depend gracefully from the left shoulder, or it was thrown lightly behind the back, and passed ove either one arm or shoulder, or over both; or, lastly, it was laid upon the throat, carried behind the neck, and crossed so as to hang down the back, and sometimes its extremities were again brought forward over the arms or shoulders. In short, the remains of ancient art of every description show in how high a degree the chlamys contributed, by its endless diversity of arrangement, to the display of the human form in its greatest beauty. The aptitude of the chlamys to be turned in every possible form around the body, made it useful

[1] *Pollux*, iv., 116.

even for defence. The hunter used to wrap his chlamys about his left arm when pursuing wild animals, and preparing to fight with them. Alcibiades died fighting with his chlamys rolled round his left hand instead of a shield. The preceding wood-cut exhibits a figure of Neptune, armed with a trident in his right hand, and having a chlamys to protect his left. When Diana goes to the chase, as she does not require her chlamys for purposes of defence, she draws it from behind over her shoulders, and twists it round her waist, so that the belt of her quiver passes across it, as shown in the statues of this goddess in the Vatican, and also in the preceding wood-cut.

X. To return to the *ἱμάτιον*, we may remark, that women wore this garment as well as men. "Phocion's wife," says Ælian,[1] "wore Phocion's *ἱμάτιον*," but Xanthippe, as related by the same author,[2] would not wear that of her husband Socrates. When the means were not wanting, women wore *ἱμάτια*, which were in general smaller, finer, and of more splendid and beautiful colors than those of men, although men sometimes also displayed their fondness for dress by adopting in these respects the female costume. Thus Alcibiades was distinguished by his purple *ἱμάτιον*, which trailed upon the ground;[3] for a train was one of the ornaments of Grecian as well as Oriental dress, the general rule being that the upper garment should reach the knee, but not the ground.[4]

3. MATERIALS FOR ATTIRE.

I. We have spoken already of woollen and linen. It may not, however, be here amiss to add, that a woollen outer garment or *ἱμάτιον* is also called in Greek *χλαῖνα*, a term coming from the same root with the Latin *lana*, "wool." And as the garment varied, not only in color and ornament, but also in fineness, in closeness of texture, and in size, some of these differences were expressed by the diminutives of *χλαῖνα*, such as *χλαινίον*, *χλανίς*,[5] *χλανίδιον*,[6] *χλανίσκιον*, and *χλανισκίδιον*.[7]

II. The early history of the silk manufacture is enveloped in great obscurity, which is not to be wondered at, considering the fables which the silk dealers purposely spread abroad,[8] and the distance of the country which produced the material. But it is strange that the Macedonian conquest did not help to make the Greeks better acquainted with it. Aristotle[9] was aware that the silk was produced

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1 *Ælian, V. H.*, vii., 9. 2 *Id.*, vii., 10. 3 *Plut., Alcib.*, p. 350, 362, *ed. Steph.*
4 *Ælian, V. H.*, xi., 10. 5 *Herod.*, iii., 139. 6 *Id.*, i., 195.
7 *Aristoph., Pax*, 1002. 8 *Voss, ad Virg., Georg.*, ii., 121. 9 *Hist. Ann.*, v., 17.

by the bombyx, but he plainly knows nothing about the insect from personal observation. In all probability, silk clothes were not used in Greece until late, but Asiatics wore them from the most ancient period.

III. It can not be doubted that the Coan robes were of a gauze-like silk; but the *εἵματα διαφανῆ*, often alluded to at an earlier period, must have been of another material. These were often used by artists, as through them the contour of the form was plainly visible. The fabrication of asbestos at Carystus in Eubœa may be mentioned as a curiosity; but clothes were never worn of such a material. Furs were not required on account of the mildness of the climate.

4. COLOR OF DRESSES.

I. It is a very prevalent, but an incorrect notion, that the free citizens and all respectable females, with little variation, wore nothing but white. Pollux[1] expressly mentions the different sorts of colors, and also which were worn by the men, which by the women. So, again, he details those worn by the actors in comedy, which (namely, the new comedy) copies the common life of the citizens. From the last-quoted passage, however, it must not be inferred that, because young men (in contrast to the *γέροντες*) are clothed in a dark-colored garment (*μελαμπόρφυρον*), and lads in a bright purple one (*πορφυρᾶ ἐσθής*), they therefore were always so clad; on the contrary, we only conclude that a colored robe was not unusual in common life among the higher orders, or they would never have thus appeared in one on the stage. Dark-colored dresses were often worn, at least so we find in a fragment of Antiphanes, describing the costume of the Academicians.[2]

II. Colored dresses were most prevalent, however, among the female sex. It would seem from Pollux[3] that maidens of better condition wore only the white or yellowish chiton. The same writer mentions, as suitable to women, first, the *κροκωτὸς* (*χιτών*), probably a chiton with a saffron-colored diploidion. The other colors mentioned by him are *ὀμφάκινον*, perhaps olive-green; *μήλινον*, apple-green or yellow; *ἀέρινον*, not only azure, but of divers tints, even to a bright gray.

5. ORNAMENTS OF DRESSES.

I. The ornaments of the chiton may be divided into horizontal borders, vertical stripes, scattered figures, and regular patterns for

[1] *Pollux*, vii., 55. [2] *Antiphan. ap. Athen.*, xii., 544. [3] *Pollux*, iv., 120.

the whole garment. The first ran round the bottom edge, or also round the hole for the neck, either as simple colored strips, or as ornamented patterns. These strips also were apparently many-colored. The borders were usually woven in, but sometimes sewed on, and, when faded, were replaced by new ones. The vertical stripes appear partly on both sides of the chiton, and reaching down to the feet, or only in the diploidion. Their general name was *ῥάβδοι* or *πάρυφοι*. We sometimes find[1] an odd ornament appended to the long-sleeved chiton, namely, an arabesque not only running from the breast to the lower seam, but also passing down the whole length of the sleeve. Such sleeve-trimmings also occur on men's chitons, being perhaps borrowed from the tragic costume.

II. On the *ἱμάτια*, also, of both men and women, are to be seen similar borders, which sometimes run round, sometimes appear to be only on the two seamed sides of the oblong cloth. Fringes, also (*κροσσοί*, *θύσανοι*), were appended to the garments,[2] and tassels at the corners, as in the Roman toga, not for show merely, but for the purpose of keeping down the dress by their weight.

III. The third class of ornaments consisted of flowers, stars, &c., embroidered or woven in, and scattered all over the dress (*χιτὼν κατάστικτος*[3]). These are commonly seen on vases. Fourthly come the dresses of regular patterns. On a very remarkable vase-painting, in Millin, are two Attic maidens, who are being offered to the Minotaur. They are enveloped in garments of a chess-board looking pattern, which the artist could never have borrowed from his own invention. Besides, this pattern occurs elsewhere for turbans.

6. DIFFERENT KINDS OF DRESSES.

I. We will now mention a few names of dresses, some of a general import, others peculiar to the lower classes and slaves. The *ξυστίς* is explained by Böttiger[4] as being an "embroidered purple coat." The grammarians give a variety of explanations, such as *ποδῆρες ἔνδυμα* and *τραγικὸν ἔνδυμα*, and again *χλανὶς κωμική*, or *ἱππικὸν ἔνδυμα*. That it was not, however, exclusively an *ἔνδυμα*, nor belonged merely to the tragic or comic stage, but might also mean a female robe of state, is evident from Theocritus.[5] The name *xystis* does not appear to refer to its shape at all, but merely to the material and ornaments, the reference being to something glossy and bright-hued. The best proof of this is that coverlets are also thus designated.

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[1] *Millin, Peint.*, i., pl. 38. [2] *Pollux*, vii., 64. [3] *Id. ib.*, 55.
[4] *Kl. Schr.*, i., 273. [5] *Theocr.*, ii., 74.

II. The name ἐφεστρίς also refers more to a cloth or coverlet than a dress of any particular shape. It appears to have resembled the chiton, being, like that, fastened by a clasp.[1] The διφθέρα was a coat of skins for herdsmen and countrymen. It could be drawn over the head. Probably the σισύρα was something similar, but serving more as an ἱμάτιον than a χιτών. It appears to have been mostly used as a coverlet. It was also used, however, as a cloak; and, though commonly of sheep-skin, was sometimes, however, made of coarse, thick cloth. The κατωνάκη was a dress for slaves, probably used only in the country. It was a chiton of coarse cloth, and the lower hem was trimmed with sheep-skin. The lower orders, and especially the sailors, wore clothing of coarse plaited stuff, called φορμοί.

7. HEAD-COVERINGS FOR THE MEN.

I. The men did not wear any head covering at the gymnasia and on their walks any more than the women; but they were required by certain trades and on journeys, &c. They may be divided into two sorts, hats with brims, and caps with none, but both known by the common terms of κυνῆ and πῖλος.

II. The πέτασος is the best known form of the first kind. It was, like the chlamys, of Thessalian or Macedonian origin, and the brim was either exactly or nearly circular, but varied greatly in its width. In some cases it is a circular disk without any crown at all, and often there is only a depression or slight concavity in this disk fitted to the top of the head. Of this a beautiful example is presented in a recumbent statue of Endymion, habited as a hunter, and belonging to the Townley collection in the British Museum. It shows the mode of wearing the petasus tied under the chin. In other instances it is tied behind the neck instead of being tied before it, as in the wood-cut which follows. In this wood-cut the brim of the petasus is surmounted by a crown. Frequently the crown is in the form of a skull-cap.[2] The petasus was used by shepherds, hunters, and travellers. The opposite wood-cut, from a fictile vase, represents a Greek soldier in his petasus and himation.

III. The *Causia* (καυσία), originally Macedonian, was like the petasus, only it had a higher crown, flat at the top, and a horizontal brim, quite round, and often very broad.[3] Probably the Arcadian κυνῆ resembled it.

IV. The cap-shaped coverings for the head vary but little. They were generally in the form of half an egg, as may be seen in the

[1] *Xen., Symp.*, iv., 38. [2] *Becker's Charicles*, p. 323. [3] *Tischbein, Engrav.*, i., 10.

wood-cut on page 309. It was worn by artisans, boatmen, &c. A cap of very frequent occurrence in the works of ancient art is that now generally known by the name of "the Phrygian bonnet." The representation of this Phrygian cap in sculptured marble shows that it was made of a strong and stiff material, and of a conical form, though bent forward and downward.

V. The color of these hats and caps was various. Charon's was red; while Plautus[1] mentions the *causia ferruginea* among the *ornatus nauclericus*. On a vase in Stackelburg, a young man wears a white *petasus* with a red rim. In Macedonia a purple *causia* was a mark of honor, presented by kings.[2]

VI. In very early times the material no doubt was skin or leather. Afterward, however, felt was generally adopted, and hence all head-coverings go by the common name of *πῖλοι*.[3] There seems, indeed, no reason to doubt that felting (*ἡ πιλητικὴ*[4]) is a more ancient invention than weaving, nor that both these arts came into Europe from Asia. From the Greeks, who were acquainted with this article as early as the age of Homer[5] and Hesiod,[6] the use of felt passed, together with its name, to the Romans. Among them,

[1] *Mil.*, iv., 4, 2.
[2] *Plutarch*, *Eumen.*, 8. Compare *Demetr.*, 41.
[3] *Becker's Gallus*, p. 325.
[4] *Plat.*, *Polit.*, ii., 2, p. 296, *ed. Bekker.*
[5] *Il.*, x., 265.
[6] *Op. et D.*, 542, 546.

however, the employment of it was always far less extended than among the Greeks.

8. HEAD DRESSES, ETC., OF WOMEN.

I. In ancient times at Athens the hair of both sexes was rolled up into a kind of knot on the crown of the head, and fastened with golden clasps in the shape of grasshoppers or cicadæ. This fashion of wearing the hair, which was called *κρωβύλος* in the case of the men, and *κόρυμβος* in that of the women, had gone out of use with the former just before the time of Thucydides.[1] It was retained, however, in all likelihood, for some time subsequently, by the female sex, and we find an example of it in the following figure of a female taken from Millingen.[2] The *tutulus* of the Roman women was very similar to it.

II. On vases, however, we most frequently find the heads of females covered with a band, or a coif of net-work. Of these coiffures one was called *σφενδόνη*, being sling-shaped, broad over the forehead and narrow at the sides, sometimes made of metal and sometimes of gilded leather.[3] To this the name of *στλεγγίς* was

[1] *Thucyd.*, i., 6.
[2] *Peint. Ant.*, pl. 40.
[3] *Pollux*, vii., 170; *Böttig.*, *Vasengem.*, iii., 225.

also given, and it appears to have been much the same as the ἄμπυξ. It was also worn on the back of the head, being then called ὀπισθοσφενδόνη, and the two are often worn at the same time.[1] The forms of these bandeaus are very numerous, and are enumerated by Pollux.

III. But the most common kind of head-dress for females was called by the general name of κεκρύφαλος, and this was divided into the three species of κεκρύφαλος, σάκκος, and μίτρα. The κεκρύφαλος, in its narrower sense, was a caul or coif of net-work, corresponding to the Latin *reticulum*. It was worn during the day as well as the night, and has continued in use from the most ancient times to the present day. It is mentioned by Homer,[2] and is still worn in Italy and Spain. These hair-nets were frequently made of gold-threads,[3] sometimes of silk,[4] or the Elean byssus,[5] and probably of other materials, which are not mentioned by ancient writers. The persons who made these nets were called κεκρυφαλοπλόκοι.[6] Females with this kind of head-dress frequently occur in paintings found at Pompeii.

IV. The σάκκος and the μίτρα were, on the contrary, made of close materials. The σάκκος covered the head entirely like a sack or bag; it was made of various materials, such as silk, byssus, or wool.[7] Sometimes, at least among the Romans, a bladder was used to answer the same purpose.[8] The μίτρα was a broad band of cloth of different colors, which was worn round the hair, and was worn in various ways. It was originally an Eastern head-dress, and may therefore be compared to the modern turban. It is sometimes spoken of as characteristic of the Phrygians.[9] It was, however, also worn by the Greeks, and Polygnotus is said to have been the first who painted Greek women with *mitræ*.[10] In the annexed cut, taken from Millin,[11] the female on the right wears a σάκκος, and that on the left a μίτρα.

V. With respect to the color of the hair itself, it may be remarked that black was the prevailing color, but *blonde* (ξανθὴ κόμη) was the most highly prized, and there was a preparation which, being smeared on the hair, caused this tint. Women often had recourse to it.[12] It was used likewise by the men, especially when the hair

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1 *Böttig., Kl. Schr.*, iii., 108. 2 *Il.*, xxii., 469. 3 *Juv.*, ii., 96; *Petron.*, 67.
4 *Salmas., Exerc. ad Solin.*, p. 392. 5 *Paus.*, vii., 21, 7.
6 *Pollux*, vii., 179. 7 Comp. *Aristoph., Thesm.*, 257. 8 *Mart.*, viii., 33–39.
9 *Herod.*, i., 195; vii., 62; *Virg., Æn.*, ix., 616; *Juv.*, iii., 66.
10 *Plin., N. H.*, xxxv., 9, 35. 11 *Peint. de Vases Ant.*, vol. ii., pl. 43.
12 *Menand., Fragm.*, 235; *Plut., Amat.*, 25.

was turning gray.[1] Ointment was often applied; and they who contemned the perfumes mentioned by Lucian, still used pure oil to assist the growth of, and give pliancy to, the hair.[2]

9. PAINTING THE FACE.

I. A few words are necessary here on the custom of the ancients in painting their faces. In Greece this practice appears to have been very common among females, though men also had sometimes recourse to it, as, for example, Demetrius Phalereus;[3] but, as regards the women, it appears that their retired mode of living, and their sitting mostly in their own apartments, deprived them of a great part of their natural freshness and beauty, for which, of course, they were anxious to make up by artificial means.[4] This mode of embellishing themselves was probably applied only on certain occasions, such as when they went out, or wished to appear more attractive.[5]

II. The colors used for this purpose were white (*ψιμύθιον*, *cerusa*) and red (*ἀγχουσα*, *παιδέρως*, *συκάμινον*, or *φῦκος*).[6] The eyebrows were frequently painted black. The manner in which this operation of painting was performed is still seen in some ancient works

[1] *Pollux*, ii., 35; *Athen.*, xii., p. 542, *d.*
[2] *Plut.*, *Præc. Conjug.*, 29; *Plat.*, *Protag.*, p. 334.
[3] *Athen.*, xii., p. 642.
[4] *Xen.*, *Œcon.*, x., 10; *Stobæus*, iii., p. 87, *ed. Gaisf.*
[5] *Lysias*, *de cæd. Eratosth.*, p. 15; *Aristoph.*, *Lysistr.*, 149.
[6] *Xen.*, *Œcon.*, x., 2; *Aristoph.*, *Lys.*, 48; *Eccles.*, 929.

of art representing females in the act of painting themselves. Sometimes they are seen painting themselves with a brush, and sometimes with their fingers. For embellishing and cleaning the complexion, the Greeks and Romans used a substance called *œsipum* (*οἰσύπη*), prepared of the wool taken from those parts of the body of a sheep in which it perspired most. On this whole subject Böttiger's work[1] may be consulted with great advantage.

10. HAIR AND BEARD.

I. In the earliest times the Greeks wore their hair long, and thus they are constantly called in Homer *καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί*. Winkelmann[2] remarks that the natives of the south are endowed with a greater profusion of hair than others; and in the eyes of the Greeks it rendered the figure more noble and attractive.

II. This ancient practice of wearing long hair was preserved by the Spartans for many centuries. The Spartan boys always had their hair cut quite short (*ἐν χρῷ κείροντες*)[3], but as soon as they reached the age of puberty they let it grow long. They prided themselves upon their hair, calling it the cheapest of ornaments (*τῶν κόσμων ἀδαπανώτατος*); and before going to battle, as we have already remarked, they combed and dressed it with especial care.[4] At a later time, however, they abandoned this ancient custom, and wore their hair short.

III. The custom of the Athenians was different. They wore their hair long in childhood, and cut it off when they reached the age of puberty. The cutting off of the hair, which was always done when a boy became an *ἔφηβος*, was a solemn act, attended with religious ceremonies. A libation was first offered to Hercules, which was called *οἰνιστήρια*,[5] and the hair, after being cut off, was dedicated to some deity, usually a river-god.[6] It was a very ancient practice to repair to Delphi to perform this ceremony, and Theseus is said to have done so.[7] The ephebi are always represented on works of art with their hair quite short, in which manner it was also worn by the athletæ. But when the Athenians passed into the age of manhood, they again let their hair grow.

IV. The ancients generally cultivated the form and growth of the beard with great attention; and that the Greeks were not behindhand in this, any more than in other arts, is sufficiently shown

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[1] *Sabina*, Leipzig, 1803.
[2] *Winkelmann*, iii., 49.
[3] *Plut., Lycur.*, 16.
[4] Page 125.
[5] *Hesych. ap. Phot., s. v.*
[6] *Æschyl., Choëph.*, 6; *Paus.*, i., 37, 2.
[7] *Plut., Thes.*, 5; *Theophr., Charact.*, 21.

by the statues of their philosophers. The phrase *πωγωνοτροφεῖν*, which is applied to letting the beard grow, implies a positive culture. Generally speaking, a thick beard, *πώγων βαθύς* or *δασύς*, was regarded as a mark of manliness. The Greek philosophers were distinguished by their long beards as a sort of badge, and hence the term which Persius applies to Socrates, *magister barbatus*.[1] The Homeric heroes were bearded men. According to Chrysippus, cited by Athenæus,[2] the Greeks wore the beard until the time of Alexander the Great, and he adds that the first man who was shaven was called ever after *κόρσην*, "shaven" (from *κείρω*). Plutarch[3] says that the reason for the shaving was that they might not be pulled by the beard in battle. The custom of shaving the beard continued among the Greeks till the time of Justinian, and even during that period the statues of the philosophers were without the beard. The philosophers, however, generally continued the old badge, and their ostentation in so doing gave rise to the saying that a long beard does not make a philosopher (*πωγωνοτροφία φιλόσοφον οὐ ποιεῖ*), and a man whose wisdom stopped with his beard was called *ἐκ πώγωνος σοφός*.[4] The Greeks shaved the beard close in time of mourning; the Romans, on the other hand, let it grow long on such occasions.

II. BARBERS.

I. The Greek name for a barber was *κουρεύς*, and the Latin *tonsor*. The term employed in modern European languages is derived from the low Latin *barbatorius*, which is found in Petronius.

II. The barber of the ancients was a far more important personage than his modern representative. Men had not often the necessary implements for the various operations of the toilet; combs, mirrors, perfumes, and tools for clipping, cutting, shaving, &c. Accordingly, the whole process had to be performed at the barber's, and hence the great concourse of people who daily gossiped at the *κουρεῖον* (*tonstrina*), or barber's shop. Besides the duties of a barber and hair-dresser, strictly so called, the ancient *κουρεύς* (*tonsor*) discharged other offices. He was also a nail-parer. He was, in fact, much what the English barber was when he extracted teeth as well as cut and dressed hair. People who kept the necessary instruments for all the different operations generally had also slaves expressly for the purpose of performing them.

III. The business of the barber was three-fold. First, there was

[1] *Pers., Sat.*, iv., 1.
[2] *Athen.*, xiii., p. 565.
[3] *Vit. Thes.*, ch. v.
[4] Compare *Gell.*, ix., 2; *Quint.*, xi., 1.

the cutting of hair; hence the barber's question, *πῶς σε κείρω*.[1] For this purpose he used various knives of different sizes and shapes, and degrees of sharpness; hence Lucian,[2] in enumerating the apparatus of a barber's shop, mentions *πλῆθος μαχαιριδίων*. The terms *μάχαιρα*, *μαχαιρίς*, *κουρίς*, are, however, also employed. Scissors (*ψαλίς*, *διπλῆ μάχαιρα*[3]) were likewise used.[4] The usual word was *μάχαιρα*.

IV. Irregularity and unevenness of the hair was considered a great blemish, as appears generally, and from Horace,[5] and accordingly, after the hair-cutting, the uneven hairs were pulled out by tweezers, an operation to which Pollux applies the term *παραλέγεσθαι*.[6] So the hangers-on of great men, who wished to look young, were accustomed to pull out the gray hairs for them.[7] This was considered, however, a mark of effeminacy. The person who was to be operated upon by the barber had a rough cloth (*ὠμόλινον*) laid on his shoulders, as now, to keep the hairs off his dress, &c.

V. The second part of the business was shaving (*ξυρεῖν*). This was done with a *ξυρόν*, or razor, which was kept in a case, *θήκη*, *ξυροθήκη*, *ξυροδόκης*.[8] Some who would not submit to the operation of the razor used instead some powerful depilatory ointments or plasters. Stray hairs which escaped the razor were pulled out with pincers or tweezers (*τριχολάβιον*).

VI. The third part of the barber's work was to pare the nails of the hands, an operation which the Greeks expressed by the words *ὀνυχίζειν* and *ἀπονυχίζειν*.[9] The instruments used for this purpose were called *ὀνυχιστήρια*, *sc. μαχαίρια*.[10]

12. MOUSTACHES.

I. The different parts of the beard had different names, which also varied with its age and appearance. The young beard, first appearing on the upper lip, was called *ὑπήνη*, or *ὑπήνη πρώτη*,[11] and the youth just arrived at puberty, who was graced with it, was *πρῶτον ὑπηνήτης*.[12] By its growth and development it produced the moustaches (*μύσταξ*), which the Greeks generally cherished as a manly ornament.[13]

II. To this practice, however, there seems to have been one ex-

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[1] *Plut., de Garrul.*, 13. [2] *Advers. Indoct.*, c. 29. [3] *Pollux*, ii., 32.
[4] *Aristoph., Acharn.*, 848. [5] *Sat.*, i., 3, 31; *Epist.*, i., 1, 94. [6] *Pollux*, ii, 34.
[7] *Aristoph., Equit.*, 908. [8] *Id., Thesm.*, 220; *Pollux*, ii, 32.
[9] *Id., Equit.*, 706; *Theophrast., Charact.*, 26. [10] *Pollux*, x., 140.
[11] *Diod. Sic.*, v., 28. [12] *Hom., Il.*, xxiv., 348; *Od.*, x., 279.
[13] *Antiph. ap. Athen.*, iv., 21; *Theocrit.*, xiv., 4.

ception. The Spartan ephori, when they were inducted, made a proclamation requiring the people "to shave their moustaches and obey the laws." The beard being considered the ornament of a man and a sign of freedom, this decree of the ephori was a metaphorical expression for subjection and obedience.[1]

13. COVERINGS FOR THE FEET.

I. The Greeks wore a foot-covering only out of doors. Even in the Heroic Ages we find persons put on the *πέδιλα* just before going out, not on a journey, but for common walk;[2] and this remained the custom in later ages. In one's own house they were not worn, and at a stranger's were put off before reclining at table. Effeminate persons may probably have covered their feet with something at home in winter-time, but this was not the rule; nay, many would go barefoot both summer and winter.[3] This was actually compulsory by law at Sparta,[4] and even aged people did it. And at Athens, too, it was a mark of simple manners never to wear any thing on the feet, except on special occasions, when propriety demanded it. Persons of consequence and wealth also did so, as, for instance, Lycurgus the orator and Phocion. It was a special mark of the stricter philosophic sects, and, as such, affected by the later beard-philosophers. With these exceptions, they usually wore sandals, or some such thing, out of doors; and masters gave them also to their slaves, at least in winter-time.[5]

II. In spite of numberless deviations in form, the foot-coverings of the Greeks are divisible into two chief classes, sandals and shoes. But there are so many transition forms, that a complete set of gradations may be adduced from the simple sandal up to the quasi-boot or endromis. The sandal (*σανδάλιον* or *σάνδαλον*) was worn only by women. In the Homeric Age, however, it was not confined to either sex, and consisted of a wooden sole fastened to the foot with thongs.[6] In later times the sandal must be distinguished from the *ὑπόδημα*, which was a simple sole bound under the foot,[7] whereas the sandal, also called *βλαύτια* or *βλαύτη*, was a sole with a piece of leather covering the toes, so that it formed the transition from the *ὑπόδημα* to real shoes. The piece of leather under the toes was called *ζυγός* or *ζυγόν*.[8] The *ζυγόν* was frequently adorned with costly embroidery and gold, and appears to have been one of the most

[1] *Müller, Dor.*, iii., 7, 7; iv., 2, 5.
[2] *Il.*, ii., 44; *Od.*, ii., 4.
[3] *Plat., Republ.*, ii., 372.
[4] *Xen., de Rep. Lac.*, 2, 3.
[5] *Becker's Charicles*, p. 326.
[6] *Hom., Hymn. in Merc.*, 79, 83, 139.
[7] *Pollux*, viii., 84; *Kühn., ad loc.*
[8] *Aristoph., Lysistr.*, 390; *Schol. ad loc.*

luxurious articles of female dress. The small cover of the toes, however, was not sufficient to fasten the sandal to the foot, wherefore thongs, likewise beautifully adorned, were attached to it.

III. The shoe, as most commonly worn, probably did not differ much from the modern one, and is exemplified in a painting at Herculaneum, which represents a female wearing them while she is in the attitude of dancing and playing on the cymbals.

On the other hand, a marble foot in the British Museum exhibits the form of a man's shoe. Both the sole and the upper leather are thick and strong. The toes are uncovered, and a thong passes between the great and the second toe, as in a sandal.

IV. The many varieties of foot-coverings mentioned by Pollux are difficult to understand, from the brevity with which they are noticed. One of the most dubious is the *κρηπίς*. It might almost be supposed to mean a mere sole; and this is the more likely from the shape of a cake, also called *κρηπίς*, probably because it was of a like form with this species of *ὑπόδημα*. From Athenæus it would seem to have been a high sandal, only differing from the simple *ὑπόδημα* in having several thicknesses; while in Pollux it seems to be a sandal with a higher heel than usual. Most likely it was a sort of half-shoe (being for the men what *σανδάλιον* was for the women), which only covered the fore part of the foot, and was fastened behind with thongs.

V. Something more definite is known about the *ἐμβάδες*. They were the most common kind of shoe worn at Athens, and were worn by men only. Pollux says that they were invented by the Thracians, and were like the low cothurnus. They were not worn by the higher classes. The *Λακωνικαί* were also men's shoes, and probably similar to the *ἐμβάδες*. They originated at Lacedæmon, but were also very common at Athens. Sometimes they are distinguished from the *ἐμβάς*, and again they are interchanged with it. Pollux says that the Laconian shoes were red.[1]

VI. It remains to mention the *ἐνδρομίδες* and *καρβάτιναι*, both men's shoes. The first were more like boots, reaching up high, which Pollux, being led astray by the etymology, mentions as being suited for athletæ;[2] while elsewhere[3] he assigns them to Artemis, in which he is corroborated by a scholium on Callimachus. Perhaps they essentially corresponded to the *κόθορνος*. Singularly enough, the word has quite another meaning in Latin, namely, a thick, coarse blanket, which persons who had been exercising in the stadium threw over them to obviate the effects of sudden exposure when they were heated.[4] The *καρβάτιναι*, on the contrary, were the commonest foot-covering of the lower orders, and made of raw leather.

VII. There were likewise many kinds of women's shoes,[5] but little more is known of them than the mere name. Besides the *σανδάλιον*, Aristophanes particularly mentions the *Περσικά*, perhaps a common sort of shoe, which covered the whole foot. Probably they were not made right and left, but suited either foot, like the *κόθορνοι*. The *βαυκίδες* were a more elegant sort, generally of a

[1] *Aristoph., Eccles.*, 47, 314; *Eq.*, 872; *Becker, Charicles*, p. 329.
[2] *Pollux*, iii., 155.
[3] *Id.*, vii., 93.
[4] *Mart.*, iv, 19, 4; *Juv.*, iii., 103.
[5] *Pollux*, iii., 92, *seqq.*

saffron color. The περιβαρίς was for slaves. The Bœotian females wore a low purple shoe.[1]

VIII. Foot-coverings were generally of leather, and hence the word σκυτοτόμος comprehends the shoemaker. But other materials were likewise used. Felt was employed not only for shoes, but also for socks worn inside of them. These last, in some measure, supplied the place of our stockings. Cork was often used for the stronger sole (κάττυμα): it formed the middle layer; and women were very fond of them, as they added to their height, and were not heavy. Men's common shoes were studded with nails (ἧλοις) to make them more durable. This, however, in the case of the upper class or wealthy, was considered a mark of ἀγροικία. Still it was not unusual on a journey. The most usual color of shoes was the natural one of the leather, or black; and the shoes were cleaned with a sponge. It is evident, however, from various passages, that both sexes also wore white and party-colored shoes.[2]

14. RINGS.

I. Every freeman in Greece appears to have used a ring; and, at least in the earliest times, not as an ornament, but as an article for use, since the ring always served as a seal. How ancient the custom of wearing rings among the Greeks was can not be ascertained, though it is certain, as even Pliny observes,[3] that in the Homeric poems there are no traces of it. In works of fiction, however, and in those legends in which the customs of later ages are mixed up with those of the earliest times, we find the most ancient heroes described as wearing rings. But it is highly probable that the custom of wearing rings was introduced into Greece from Asia, where it appears to have been almost universal.[4]

II. In the time of Solon, seal-rings (σφραγῖδες), as well as the practice of counterfeiting them, seem to have been rather common, for Diogenes Laertius[5] speaks of a law of Solon which forbade the artists to keep the form of a seal (σφραγίς) which he had sold. Whether, however, it was customary, as early as the time of Solon, to wear rings with precious stones on which figures were engraved, may justly be doubted; and it is much more probable that at that time the figures were cut in the metal of the ring itself, a custom which was never abandoned altogether. Rings without precious stones were called ἄψηφοι, the name given to the gem being ψῆφος or σφραγίς.

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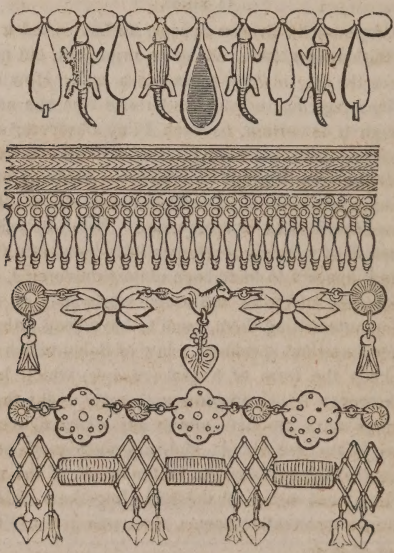
[1] *Dicæarch., Fragm.*, 491. [2] *Becker, Charicles*, p. 330. [3] *N. H.*, xxxiii., 4.
[4] *Herod.*, i., 195; *Plat., Repub.*, ii., p. 359. [5] *Diog. Laert.*, i., 57.

III. In later times rings were worn more as ornaments than as articles for use, and persons now were no longer satisfied with one, but wore two, three, or even more rings; and instances are recorded of those who regularly loaded their hands with rings.[1] Greek women likewise used to wear rings, but not so frequently as men; the rings of women also appear to have been less costly than those of men, for some are mentioned which were made of amber, ivory, &c.[2] Rings were mostly worn on the fourth finger. The Lacedæmonians are said to have used iron rings at all times.[3]

15. NECKLACES.

I. The simplest kind of necklace (ὅρμος) was the bead one, consisting of berries, small spheres of glass, amethyst, &c., strung together. This is very commonly shown in ancient paintings. To this class of necklaces belongs one in the Egyptian collection of the British Museum (see the annexed wood-cut), in which small golden lizards alternate with the drops. The figure immediately under-



[1] *Plat., Hipp. Min.*, p. 368; *Aristoph., Eccles.*, 362.
[2] *Artemid., Oneirocrit.*, ii., 5.
[3] *Plin., N. H.*, xxxiii., 4.

neath this exhibits the central portion of a very ancient and exquisitely wrought necklace, which was found at St. Agatha, near Naples, in the sepulchre of a Greek lady. It has 71 pendants. Above them is a band consisting of several rows of the close chain-work which we now call Venetian. We also give the central portions, exhibiting the patterns of three splendid gold necklaces, found in Etruscan tombs, and now in the British Museum.

II. The necklace was sometimes made to resemble a serpent coiled about the neck of the wearer, as was the case with that given as a nuptial present by Venus to Harmonia, which was ornamented in so elaborate a manner that Nonnus devotes 50 lines of his *Dionysiaca* to its description.[1] This same necklace afterward appears in mythology as the bribe by which Eriphȳle was tempted to betray her husband Amphiaraus.[2] The beauty and splendor, as well as the value of necklaces, were enhanced by the insertion of pearls and precious stones, which were strung together by means of linen thread, silk, or wires and links of gold. Amber necklaces are mentioned in the Odyssey. Very valuable necklaces were sometimes placed as dedicatory offerings upon the statues of Minerva, Venus, and other goddesses.

16. EAR-RINGS.

I. An ear-ring was called in Greek *ἐνώτιον*, because it was worn in the ear; and *ἐλλόβιον*, because it was inserted into the lobe of the ear (*λοβός*), which was bored for the purpose.[3] Ear-rings were worn by females alone among the Greeks and Romans, but in Oriental countries by both sexes.

II. This ornament consisted of the ring (*κρίκος*) and of the drops. The ring was generally of gold, although the common people also wore ear-rings of bronze. (See Nos. 1, 4, in the following woodcut.) Instead of a ring a hook was also often used, as is shown in Nos. 6, 8. The women of Italy still continue the same practice, passing the hook through the lobe of the ear, without any other fastenings. The drops were sometimes of gold, very finely wrought (see Nos. 2, 7, 8), and sometimes of pearls and precious stones. The pearls were valued for being exactly spherical, as well as for their great size and delicate whiteness; but those of an elongated form were also much esteemed, being adapted to terminate the drop, and being sometimes placed two or three together for this purpose. Pliny observes that greater expense was lavished on no part of the

[1] *Nonn., Dionys.*, v., 125, *seqq.*
[2] *Apollod.*, iii., 4, 2; iii., 6, 2, &c.
[3] *Hom., Il.*, xiv., 182; *Plin., H. N.*, xii., 1.

dress than on the ear-rings. According to Seneca, the ear-ring No. 3, in the wood-cut, in which a couple of pearls are strung both above and below the precious stone, was worth a patrimony.[1]

17. BRACELETS.

I. The bracelet (*ψάλιον*, *ψέλιον*, or *ψέλλιον*) was not worn among the Greeks by the male sex, as it was among the Eastern nations, and also among the Gauls and Sabines. The Grecian ladies, on the other hand, had bracelets of various materials, shapes, and styles of ornament. The bracelet was sometimes called *σφιγκτήρ* (from *σφίγγω*), deriving its name from its keeping its place by compressing the arm of the wearer.

II. Bracelets seem to have been frequently made without having their ends joined. They were then curved, so as to require, when put on, to be slightly expanded by having their ends drawn apart from one another; and, according to their length, they went once, twice, or thrice round the arm, or even a greater number of times. As they frequently exhibited the form of serpents, they were in such cases called *snakes* (*ὄφεις*) by the Athenians.[2] The opposite cut from a Greek vase will serve to explain this more fully.

18. UNGUENTS.

I. The application of unguents, &c., in connection with bathing and the athletic contests of the ancients, will be treated of under

[1] *Sen., de Ben.*, vii., 9.

[2] *Hesych., s. v. ὄφεις.*

the head of Baths and Athletæ. Although their original object was simply to preserve the health and elasticity of the human frame, they were in later times used as articles of luxury. They were then not only employed to impart to the body or hair a particular color, but also to give to them the most pleasing fragrance possible. They were, moreover, not merely applied after a bath, but at any time, to render one's appearance or presence more pleasant than usual. In short, they were used then as oils and pomatums are at present.

II. The numerous kinds of oils, soaps, pomatums, and other perfumes, with which the ancients were acquainted, are quite astonishing. We know several species of soap which they used, though, as appears, more for the purpose of painting the hair than for cleaning it.[1] For the same purpose they also used certain herbs. Of the various oils that were used, partly for the skin and partly for the hair, the most costly was crocus oil.[2] In addition, however, to these oils, they also used various powders as perfumes, which, by a general name, are called *Diapasmata*. At Rome these luxuries did not become very general till toward the end of the Republic, while the Greeks appear to have been familiar with them from early times. The traffic which was carried on in these ointments and perfumes in several towns of Greece and Southern Italy was very large.

[1] *Plin., H. N.*, xviii., 12, 51; *Mart.*, viii., 23, 20. [2] *Becker's Gallus*, ii., p. 27.

Wesl 15. 1852

CHAPTER XXX.

GRECIAN MEALS.

I. We have already spoken of the Homeric meals. The Greeks of a later age usually partook of three meals, called *ἀκράτισμα*, *ἄριστον*, and *δεῖπνον*. The last, which corresponds to the *δόρπον* of the Homeric poems, was the evening meal or dinner; the *ἄριστον* was the luncheon; and the *ἀκράτισμα*, which answers to the *ἄριστον* of Homer, was the early meal or breakfast. The *ἀκράτισμα* was taken immediately after rising in the morning (*ἐξ εὐνῆς, ἕωθεν*[1]). It usually consisted of bread dipped in unmixed wine (*ἄκρατος*), whence it derived its name.[2]

II. Next followed the *ἄριστον*, or luncheon; but the time at which it was taken is uncertain. It is frequently mentioned in Xenophon's Anabasis, and appears to have been taken at different times, as would naturally be the case with soldiers in active service. Suidas[3] says that it was taken about the third hour, that is, about nine o'clock in the morning; but this account does not agree with the statements of other ancient writers. We may conclude from many circumstances that this meal was taken about the middle of the day, and that it answered to the Roman *prandium*, as Plutarch asserts.[4] Besides which, the time of the *πλήθουσα ἀγορά*, at which provisions seem to have been brought for the *ἄριστον*, was from nine o'clock till noon. The *ἄριστον* was usually a simple meal, but of course varied according to the habits of individuals.

III. The principal meal, however, was the *δεῖπνον*. It was usually taken rather late in the day, frequently not before sunset.[5] The Athenians were a social people, and were very fond of dining in company. Entertainments were usually given, both in the Heroic Ages and later times, when sacrifices were offered to the gods, either on public or private occasions; and also on the anniversary of the birth-days of members of the family, or of illustrious persons, whether living or dead.

IV. When young men wished to dine together, they frequently contributed each a certain sum of money, called *συμβολή* or *σύμβολον*, or else brought their own provisions with them. When the first plan was adopted, they were said *ἀπὸ συμβολῶν δειπνεῖν*, and

[1] *Aristoph.*, *Av.*, 1286. [2] *Plut.*, *Symp.*, viii, 6, 4; *Athen.*, i., p. 11.
[3] *s. v. δεῖπνον.* [4] *Symp.*, viii., 6, 5. [5] *Lysias c. Eratosth.*, p. 26.

one individual was usually intrusted with the money to procure the provisions and make all the necessary preparations. This kind of entertainment, in which each guest contributed to the expense, is mentioned in Homer under the name of *ἔρανος*. An entertainment to which each person brought his own provisions with him, or at least contributed something to the general stock, was called *δεῖπνον ἀπὸ σπυρίδος*, because the provisions were brought in baskets.[1] This kind of entertainment is spoken of by Xenophon.[2]

V. The most usual entertainments, however, were those in which a person invited his friends to his own house. It was expected that they should come dressed with more than ordinary care, and also have bathed shortly before; hence, when Socrates was going to an entertainment at Agathon's, we are told that he both washed and put on his shoes, things which he seldom did.[3] As soon as the guests arrived at the house of their host, their shoes or sandals were taken off by the slaves, and their feet washed. In ancient works of art we frequently see a slave or other person represented in the act of taking off the shoes of the guest, as in the following wood-cut from a terra cotta in the British Museum. After

their feet had been washed, the guests reclined on the *κλῖναι*, or couches.[4]

VI. It has before been remarked that Homer never describes persons as reclining, but always as sitting at their meals; but at

[1] *Athen.*, viii., p. 365.
[2] *Mem.*, iii., 14, 1.
[3] *Plat., Symp.*, c. 2, p. 174.
[4] *Id. ib.*, c. 3, p. 165.

what time the change was introduced is uncertain. Müller[1] concludes from a fragment of Alcman, quoted by Athenæus,[2] that the Spartans were accustomed to recline at their meals as early as the time of that poet. The Dorians of Crete always sat; but the Athenians, like the Spartans, were accustomed to recline. The Greek women and children, however, like the Roman, continued to sit at their meals, as we find them represented in ancient works of art.

VII. It was usual for only two persons to recline on one couch. The Roman number, on the other hand, was three. In ancient works of art we usually see two guests on one couch at Grecian entertainments, but sometimes there is a larger number on one long *κλίνη*. The guests reclined with their left arm resting on pillows, and their right free.

VIII. After the guests had placed themselves on the *κλῖναι*, the slaves brought in water to wash their hands. The dinner was then served up; whence we read in Aristophanes and elsewhere of *τὰς τραπέζας εἰςφέρειν*, by which expression we are to understand not merely the dishes, but the tables themselves.[3] It appears that a table, with provisions upon it, was placed before each *κλίνη*; and thus we find, in all ancient works of art which represent banquets or symposia, a small table or tripod placed before the *κλίνη*, and when there are more than two persons on the *κλίνη*, several of such tables. These tables are evidently small enough to be moved with ease.

IX. In eating, the Greeks had no knives or forks, but made use of their fingers only, except in eating soups, or in the case of other liquids, which they partook of by means of a spoon, called *μυστίλη*, *μύστρον*, or *μύστρος*. Sometimes they used, instead of a spoon, a hollowed piece of bread, also called *μυστίλη*.[4] After eating they wiped their fingers on pieces of bread, called *ἀπομαγδαλίαι*.[5] They did not use any cloths or napkins; the *χειρόμακτρα* and *ἐκμαγεῖα*, which are sometimes mentioned, were towels, which were only used when they washed their hands. It appears that the arrangement of the dinner was intrusted to certain slaves. The one who had the chief arrangement of it was called *τραπεζοποιός* or *τραπεζοκόμος*.[6]

X. The most common food among the Greeks was the *μάζα* (Dor. *μάδδα*), a kind of frumenty or soft cake, which was prepared in dif-

[1] *Dorians*, iv., 3, 1.
[2] *Athen.*, iii., p. 111.
[3] *Philoxen. ap. Athen.*, iv., p. 146, *f.*
[4] *Pollux*, vi., 87; x., 89.
[5] *Id.*, vi., 93.
[6] *Athēn.*, iv., p. 170, *c.*; *Pollux*, iii., 41.

ferent ways, as appears by the different names that were given to it.[1] The *μάζα* continued to the latest times to be the common food of the lower classes. Wheaten or barley bread was the second most usual species of food; it was sometimes made at home, but more usually bought at the market of the *ἀρτοπῶλαι* or *ἀρτοπώλιδες*. The vegetables ordinarily eaten were mallows, lettuces, cabbages, beans, lentils, &c. Pork was the most favorite animal food, as was the case among the Romans. Sausages also were very commonly eaten. It is a curious fact, which Plato[2] has remarked, that we never read in Homer of the heroes partaking of fish. In later times, however, fish was one of the most favorite articles of food of the Greeks, insomuch that the name of *ὄψον* was applied to it *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. A minute account of the fishes which the Greeks were accustomed to eat is given at the end of the seventh book of Athenæus, arranged in alphabetical order.

XI. The ordinary meal for the family was cooked by the mistress of the house or by the female slaves under her direction; but for special occasions professional cooks (*μάγειροι*) were hired, of whom there appears to have been a great number.[3] They are frequently mentioned in the fragments of the comic poets; and those of them who were acquainted with all the refinements of their art were in great demand in other parts of Greece besides their own country. The Sicilian cooks, however, had the highest reputation,[4] and a Sicilian book on cookery by one Mithæcus is mentioned in the Gorgias of Plato; but the most celebrated work on the subject was the Ταστρολογία of Archestratus.

XII. A dinner given by an opulent Athenian usually consisted of two courses, called respectively *πρῶται τράπεζαι* and *δεύτεραι τράπεζαι*. Pollux, indeed, speaks of three courses,[5] which was the number at a Roman dinner; and in the same way we find other writers under the Roman empire speaking of three courses at Greek dinners; but before the Roman conquest of Greece and the introduction of Roman customs, we only read of two courses, the first of which embraced the whole of what we consider the dinner, namely, fish, poultry, meat, &c. The second, which corresponds to our dessert and the Roman *bellaria*, consisted of different kinds of fruit, sweetmeats, confections, &c.

XIII. When the first course was finished the tables were taken away (*αἴρειν, ἀπαίρειν, ἀφαιρεῖν, ἐκφέρειν, βαστάζειν τὰς τραπέζας*), and water was brought to the guests for the purpose of washing

[1] *Pollux*, vi., 76. [2] *De Rep.*, iii., c. 13, p. 104. [3] *Diog. Laert.*, 11, 71.
[4] *Plato, Repub.* [5] *Pollux*, vi., 83.

their hands. A basin (*χέρνιψ*, *χέρνιβον*, or *χειρόνιπτρον*) was held under the hands to receive the water which was poured upon them out of a ewer (*πρόχους*). Crowns made of garlands of flowers were also then given to them, as well as various kinds of perfumes.[1] Wine was not drunk till the first course was finished; but as soon as the guests had washed their hands, unmixed wine was introduced in a large goblet, called *μετάνιπτρον* or *μεταινιπτρίς*, of which each drank a little, after pouring out a small quantity as a libation. This libation was said to be made to the "good spirit" (*ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*), and was usually accompanied with the singing of a pæan and the music of flutes. After this libation mixed wine was brought in, and with their first cup the guests drank to *Διὸς Σωτῆρος*.[2] With the *σπονδαί* the *δεῖπνον* closed; and at the introduction of the dessert (*δεύτεραι τράπεζαι*), the *πότος*, *συμπόσιον*, or *κῶμος* commenced.

SYMPOSIUM (*συμπόσιον*).

I. The *Symposium*, or drinking-party, must be distinguished from the *δεῖπνον*; for, though drinking almost always followed a dinner-party, yet the former was regarded as entirely distinct from the latter, was regulated by different customs, and frequently received the addition of many guests who were not present at the dinner; for the Greeks did not usually drink at their dinner, and it was not till the conclusion of the meal, as we have just remarked under the previous head, that wine was introduced.

II. Symposia seem to have been very frequent at Athens. Their enjoyment was heightened by agreeable conversation, by the introduction of music and dancing, and by games and amusements of various kinds; sometimes, too, philosophical subjects were discussed at them. The *Symposia* of Plato and Xenophon give us a lively idea of such entertainments at Athens. The name itself shows that the enjoyment of drinking was the main object of the symposia. Wine from the juice of the grape (*οἶνος ἀμπέλινος*) was the only drink partaken of by the Greeks, with the exception of water; for palm wine and beer (*cerevisia*), though known to many of the Greeks from intercourse with foreign nations, were never introduced among them; and the extraordinary cheapness of wine at Athens enabled persons even in moderate circumstances to give drinking-parties to their friends. Even in the most ancient times, the enjoyment of wine was considered one of the greatest sources

[1] *Philyll. ap. Athen.*, ix., p. 408, *c.*

[2] *Xen., Symp.*, ii., 1; *Plat., Symp.*, c. 4, p. 176; *Diod. Sic.*, iv., 3.

of pleasure, and hence Musæus and his son supposed that the just passed their time in Hades in a state of perpetual intoxication as a reward for their virtue.[1] It would appear from the symposium of Plato, that even the Athenians frequently concluded their drinking-parties in rather a riotous manner, and it was to guard against this that such parties were forbidden at Sparta and in Crete.[2]

III. The wine was almost invariably mixed with water, and to drink it unmixed (*ἄκρατον*) was considered a characteristic of barbarians.[3] Zaleucus is said to have enacted a law among the Locrians, by which any one who was ill, and drank of unmixed wine without the command of his physician, was to be put to death;[4] and the Greeks in general considered unmixed wine as exceedingly prejudicial to physical and mental health.[5] The Spartans attributed the insanity of Cleomenes to his indulging in this practice, which he learned from the Scythians. So universal, indeed, was it not to drink wine unless mixed with water, that the word *οἶνος* is always applied to such a mixture, and whenever wine is spoken of in connection with drinking, we are always to understand wine mixed with water, unless the word *ἄκρατος* is expressly added.[6]

IV. The proportion, however, in which the wine and water were mixed, naturally differed on different occasions. To make a mixture of even half wine and half water (*ἴσον ἴσῳ*) was considered injurious,[7] and generally there was a much greater quantity of water than of wine. It appears from Plutarch,[8] Athenæus,[9] and Eustathius,[10] that the most common proportions were 3 : 1, or 2 : 1, or 3 : 2. Hesiod[11] recommends the first of these.

V. The wine was mixed either with warm or cold water. The former, which corresponded to the *Calida* or *Calda* of the Romans, was by far the less common. On the contrary, they endeavored to obtain the water as cool as possible, and for this purpose both snow and ice were frequently employed. The wine-cooler used for this purpose was called *ψυκτήρ* (*dim. ψυκτηρίδιον*), and was sometimes made of bronze or silver. One of earthen-ware is preserved in the Museum of Antiquities at Copenhagen. It consists of one deep vessel for holding ice, which is fixed within another for holding wine. The wine was poured in at the top. It thus surrounded the vessel of ice, and was cooled by the contact. It was drawn off so as to fill the drinking-cups by means of a cock at the bottom.

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1 *Plat., Polit.*, ii., p. 263, *c., d.* 2 *Id., Min.*, p. 320, *a.* 3 *Id., Leg.*, i., p. 763, *e.*
4 *Ælian, V. H.*, ii., 37. 5 *Athen.*, ii., p. 36, *b.* 6 *Plut., Conj. Præcept.*, 20.
7 *Athen., l. c.* 8 *Symp.*, iii., 9. 9 *Athen.*, x., p. 426.
10 *Ad Od.*, ix., 209, p. 1624. 11 *Op. et D.*, 596.

VI. Honey was sometimes put into the wine,[1] and also spices. In the latter case it received the name of *τρίμμα*, and is frequently mentioned by the writers of the New Comedy.[2] Other ingredients were also occasionally added.

VII. The mixture was made in a large vessel called the *κρατήρ*, from which it was conveyed into the drinking-cups by means of a small ladle termed *κύαθος* (*cyathus*). The cups usually employed were the *κύλιξ*, *φιάλη*, *καρχήσιον*, and *κάνθαρος*. The *ῥυτόν*, or drinking horn, was also very commonly used.

VIII. The guests at a symposium reclined on couches, and were crowned with garlands of flowers. A master of the revels (*ἄρχων τῆς πόσεως*, *συμποσίαρχος*, or *βασιλεύς*) was usually chosen to conduct the symposium (*παιδαγωγεῖν συμπόσιον*),[3] whose commands the whole company had to obey, and who regulated the whole order of the entertainment, proposed the amusements, &c. The same practice prevailed among the Romans, and their symposiarch was called the *Magister* or *Rex Convivii*, or the *Arbiter bibendi*. The choice was generally determined by the throwing of *astragali* or *tali*, but we find, in Plato,[4] Alcibiades constituting himself symposiarch. The proportion in which the wine and water were mixed was fixed by him, and also how much each of the company was to drink. The servants (*οἰνοχόοι*, and *οἰνηροὶ θεράποντες*), usually young slaves, who had to mix the wine and present it to the company, were also under his orders; but if there was no symposiarch, the company called for the wine just as they pleased.[5]

IX. Before the drinking commenced, it was agreed upon in what way they should drink;[6] for it was not usually left to the option of each of the company to drink as much or as little as he pleased, but he was compelled to take whatever the symposiarch might order. At Athens they usually began drinking out of small cups;[7] but, as the entertainment went on, larger ones were introduced.[8] In the Symposium of Plato,[9] Alcibiades and Socrates each empty an immense cup, containing eight cotylæ, or nearly four English pints, and frequently such cups were emptied at one draught (*ἀπνευστί* or *ἀμυστὶ πίνειν*, *ἀμυστίζειν*[10]).

X. The cups were always carried round from right to left (*ἐπὶ δεξιά*), and the same order was observed in the conversation, and in every thing that took place at the entertainment. The company

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[1] *Athen.*, i., p. 32, *a.*
[2] *Pollux*, vi., 18.
[3] *Plat., Leg.*, i., p. 641, *a.*, *b.*
[4] *Symp.*, p. 213, *e.*
[5] *Xen., Symp.*, ii., 27.
[6] *Plat., Symp.*, p. 176, *a.*, *b.*
[7] *Athen.*, x., p. 431, *e.*
[8] *Diog. Laert.*, i., 104.
[9] *Plat., Symp.*, p. 213, *seqq.*
[10] *Athen.*, x., p. 431, *b.*

frequently drank to the health of one another. The Greek verb meaning "to drink one's health" is προπίνειν, the custom being to drink first one's self, and then to pass the cup to the person whom one pledged.

XI. Music and dancing were usually introduced at symposia, and we find few representations of such scenes on ancient vases without the presence of female players on the flute and cithara. Plato, indeed, decidedly objects to their presence, and maintains that it is only men incapable of amusing themselves by rational conversation that have recourse to such means of enjoyment;[1] but this says nothing against the general practice; and Xenophon, in his Symposium, represents Socrates mightily pleased with the mimetic dancing and other feats performed on that occasion. Representations of symposia are very common on ancient vases. Two guests usually reclined on one couch, as is seen in the following cut from an ancient vase, where the couch on the right hand contains two persons, while that on the left is represented with only one, which does not appear to have been the usual practice. The guests wear garlands of flowers, and the two who are reclining on the same couch hold a φιάλη each in the right hand.

Sometimes, as already remarked, there were four or five persons on one couch.

TABLES.

I. The simplest kind of table was one with three legs, and round, called in Greek τρίπους. It is shown in the following cut, taken from a drinking scene painted on the wall of a wine-shop at Pompeii.[2]

[1] *Plat., Protag.*, p. 347, *c.*, *d.*; *Symp.*, p. 176, *e.*

[2] *Gell's Pompeiana.* 1832, vol. ii., p. 11.

II. The term *τράπεζα*, though commonly used in Greek for a table of any kind, must, according to its etymology, have denoted originally a four-legged table. Accordingly, in paintings on vases, the tables are usually represented with four legs, as in the following, taken from Millin.

III. Among the Greeks, the tables were not covered with cloths at meals, but were cleansed by the use of wet sponges or of fragrant herbs. The Romans used for the same purpose a thick cloth with a long woolly nap.

IV. Under the influence of the ideas of hospitality, which have prevailed universally in the primitive stages of society, the table was considered sacred.[1] Small statues of the gods were placed upon it.[2] On this account Hercules was worshipped under the title *τραπέζιος* and *ἐπιτραπέζιος*. The Cretans, as we have before remarked, ate in public; and in the upper part of their *ἀνδρεῖον*, or public dining-room, there was a constant table set apart for strangers, and another sacred to Jupiter, called *τράπεζα ξενία* or *Δίος ξενίου*.[3]

[1] *Juv.*, ii., 110.
[2] *Arnob. c. Gent.*, lib. ii.
[3] *Athen.*, iv., 22; *Höck, Kreta*, vol. iii., p. 120, *seqq.*

COUCHES (κλῖναι).

I. The couches were low like the Roman ones, and were made of various kinds of valuable wood.[1] Sometimes these rare woods were only employed for veneering. Occasionally, also, the frames of the couches were of bronze; and again, at other times, the feet were of wood covered with plates of silver or gold.[2] Girths were stretched across,[3] on which the mattresses were laid. The term for the girth was *τόνος*; for the mattress, on the other hand, *κνέφαλον* or *πυλεῖον*, and also *τύλη*.[4] The mattress was covered with linen or woollen cloth, and also leather.[5] The stuffing was usually locks of wool, whence *κνέφαλον* (*κνάφαλον*) derives its name from *κναφεύς*. Vegetable stuffs were also used, according to Pollux. The couch had a ledge at the end where the head lay, called *ἀνάκλιντρον* or *ἐπίκλιντρον*. On this, as we may plainly see from monuments, lay a round cushion, *προςκεφάλαιον*. These cushions seem, from ancient vases, to have been invariably striped, and therefore mostly colored.[6]

II. Over the *κνέφαλον* coverlets were laid, which bear manifold designations,[7] namely, *περιστρώματα*, *ἐπιβλήματα*, *ἐφεστρίδες*, *χλαῖναι*, *ἐπιβόλαια*, κ. τ. λ. Great extravagance was shown in this article, and various kinds are mentioned by Pollux, more or less rich and magnificent. The most celebrated coverlets came from Miletus, especially in early times, and also from Corinth. Carthage also was famed for this species of manufacture. There is a remarkable passage in Pollux,[8] where coverlets of feathers, though not in his time, are mentioned.

III. As among the Romans, one place was more honorable than another. That next the master of the house seems to have been the place of honor.

ATTENDANTS.

So little is told us about the attendance, at least by the authors of the good period, that it is doubtful whether the guests brought with them their own slaves or not. Alcibiades, in Plato's Symposium, certainly brings *ἀκόλουθοι* with him; but whether they stopped to wait on him is not said. Later writers, however, unequivocally mention slaves who came with, and stood behind their masters. At the banquet, too, of Aristænetus, described by Lucian, behind each

[1] *Pollux*, x., 35. [2] *Id.*, *l. c.*; *Ælian*, *V. H.*, xii., 29; *Athen.*, vi., p. 255. [3] *Pollux*, x., 36. [4] *Lobeck*, *ad Phryn.*, 173. [5] *Pollux*, x., 40. [6] *Becker's Charicles*, p. 116, *note*. [7] *Pollux*, vi., 10. [8] *Id.*, *l. c.*

guest stood his own servant, as well as one of the host's domestics, while elsewhere each guest has his own slave standing behind him.

FOOD OF THE LOWER ORDERS.

As with the ancient Romans *puls*, so with the Greeks a similar food, termed *μάζα* (Doric *μάδδα*), was the most usual daily nourishment. It was a species of porridge, and was prepared in various ways. Pollux mentions the names of several sorts.[1] This *μάζα* continued to be the food of the lower classes till a late period, and the *ἄλευρα* of wheat was used in making it, as well as the *ἄλφιτα*, which was of barley. After *μάζα* comes bread, which was sometimes household, and made of wheat or barley meal, but most frequently bought in the market of the *ἀρτοπῶλαι* or *ἀρτοπώλιδες*. The simplest adjuncts to this were green vegetables. Meats were generally reserved for the tables of the rich. Sausages, however, were very common. They were made of blood.

GAMES, &c., CONNECTED WITH SYMPOSIA.

I. First to be mentioned are the *Scolia* (Σκόλια), or songs which went round at banquets, sung to the lyre by the guests one after another, and said by some to have been introduced by Terpander, though the word *σκόλιον* is first found in Pindar. The name is of uncertain origin, but is derived, most probably, from the irregular zigzag way in which the song went round the table (*σκολιός*, "crooked"), each guest who sang holding a myrtle branch, which he passed on to any one he chose.[2]

II. Another intellectual game was guessing riddles (*αἰνίγματα*, *γρῖφοι*), which was a great favorite for a long period. The fine for not guessing right was to drink a certain quantity of wine *ἀπνευστί*, *i. e.*, at one breath; and the reward for solving the riddle consisted chiefly of chaplets and *tæniæ*, cakes and sweetmeats, &c. Such fines and rewards were common in other contests also.

III. One of the most favorite games, said to have been of Sicilian origin,[3] was the *cottabus*, where success depended on bodily dexterity. The simplest way in which it was played originally was this: one of the company threw out of a goblet a certain quantity of pure wine, at a certain distance, into a metal basin, endeavoring to perform this exploit in such a manner as not to spill any of the wine. While he was doing this, he either thought of or pronounced

[1] *Pollux*, vi., 76.

[2] *Ilgen*, Σκόλια; *Ulrici, Gesch. d. Hellen. Dicht.*, ii., p. 376, *seqq.*

[3] *Athen.*, xv., p. 666.

the name of his mistress,[1] and from the more or less full and pure sound with which the wine struck against the metal basin, the lover drew his conclusions respecting the attachment of the object of his love. The sound, as well as the wine by which it was produced, were called *λάταξ* or *κότταβος*: the metal basin had various names, such as *κοττάβιον*, or *κοτταβεῖον*, or *λαταγεῖον*, *κ. τ. λ.*[2] The action of throwing the wine, and sometimes the goblet itself, was called *ἀγκύλη*, because the persons engaged in the game turned round the right hand with great dexterity, on which they prided themselves.

IV. This simple amusement, however, gradually assumed a variety of different characters, and became, in some instances, a regular contest, with prizes for the victor. One of the most celebrated modes in which it was carried on is described by Athenæus,[3] and was called *δι' ὀξυβάφων*. A basin was filled with water, with small empty bowls swimming upon it. Into these the young men, one after another, threw the remnant of the wine from their goblets, and he who had the good fortune to drown most of the bowls obtained the prize, consisting either of simple cakes, sweetmeats, or sesame-cakes.

V. A third and more complicated form of the cottabus is described by Suidas as follows:[4] a long piece of wood being erected on the ground, another was placed upon it in a horizontal direction, with two dishes hanging down one from each end. Underneath each dish a vessel full of water was placed, in each of which stood a gilt brazen statue, called *μάνης*. Every one who took part in the game stood at a distance, holding a cup full of wine, which he endeavored to throw into one of the dishes, in order that, struck down by the weight, it might knock against the head of the statue which was concealed under the water. He who spilled least of the wine gained the victory, and thereby knew that he was loved by his fair one.[5]

VI. A fourth kind of cottabus is described by Pollux.[6] The so-called *μάνης* was placed upon a pillar similar to a candelabrum, and the dish hanging over it must, by means of wine projected from the goblet, be thrown upon it, and thence fall into a basin filled with water, which from this fall gave forth a sound; and he who produced the strongest was the victor, and received prizes, consisting of eggs, cakes, and sweetmeats. This brief description of four various forms of the cottabus may be sufficient to show the general character of the game; and it is only necessary to add, that the

1 *Etymol. Mag.*, *s. v.* κοτταβίζω.
2 *Pollux*, vi., 109.
3 *Athen.*, xv., 666.
4 *Suid.*, *s. v.* κοτταβίζω.
5 *Schol. ad Lucian, Lexiph.*, 3, vol. ii., p. 325, *ed. Hemst.*
6 *Pollux*, vi., 109.

chief object to be accomplished in all the various modifications of the cottabus was to throw the wine out of the goblet in such a manner that it should remain together, and nothing be spilled, and that it should produce the purest and strongest possible sound in the place where it was thrown. In Sicily, the popularity of this game was so great, that houses were built for the express purpose of playing the cottabus in them.

VII. The *πεττεία*, on the other hand, was a game where all depended on practice and reflection, and resembled our chess. The game is very ancient, and is mentioned by Homer,[1] who represents the suitors of Penelope amusing themselves with it. At a later period, however, there were two quite different kinds.[2] We learn that in one of these kinds each player had five pieces (*ψῆφοι*, or *πεσσοί*), and five lines to move on, and that they did not move the piece standing on the centre line unless in case of extreme necessity. But why this move was made, or what was the nature of the game, is unknown. There is less obscurity about the second kind of *πεττεία*, which was also called *πόλις*, or, more correctly, *πόλεις*,[3] from which we learn that it bore a great resemblance to our chess or draughts. The separate squares were called *πόλεις*, and hence the phrase *πόλεις παίζειν*. The move forward was called *θέσθαι τὴν ψῆφον*, and moving backward, or recalling a move, was termed *ἀναθέσθαι*. To give the adversary an advantage was *κρεῖσσον διδόναι*. The chief skill of the player consisted in so shutting up an opponent's pieces that he had no move. It was not an easy game, and good players were rare.

VIII. The next game to be considered is the *ἀστραγαλισμός*. By *ἀστράγαλος* is originally meant a huckle-bone, and the huckle-bones

[1] *Od.*, i., 107. [2] *Pollux*, ix., 97; *Schol. ad Theoc., Id.*, vi., 18. [3] *Pollux*, x.

of sheep and goats have often been found in Greek and Roman tombs, both real, and imitated in ivory, bronze, glass, and agate. They were used to play with from the earliest times, principally by women and children,[1] occasionally by old men.[2] A painting by Alexander of Athens, found at Resina, represents two women occupied with this game. One of them having thrown the bones upward into the air, has caught three of them on the back of her hand, as in the preceding wood-cut. To play at this game was sometimes called *πενταλιθίζειν*, because five bones or other objects of a similar kind were employed; and this number is retained among ourselves.

IX. While the *ἀστράγαλοι* were without artificial marks, the game was entirely one of skill, and in ancient no less than in modern times, it consisted not merely in catching the five bones on the back of the hand, as shown in the preceding wood-cut, but in a great variety of exercises requiring quickness, agility, and accuracy of sight. When, however, the sides of the bone were marked with different values, the game became one of chance, and then properly belonged to the symposia. The two ends were left blank, because the bone could not rest upon either of them, on account of its curvature. The four remaining sides were marked with the numbers 1, 3, 4, 6; 1 and 6 being on opposite sides, and 3 and 4 on the other two opposite sides.[3]

X. Lastly comes the regular game of dice, *κυβεία*. The dice used in games of chance had the same form as those of modern times, and were commonly made of ivory, bone, or some close-grained wood. They were numbered on all the six sides, like the dice still in use, and in this respect, as well as in their form, differed from the *ἀστράγαλοι*. While four *ἀστράγαλοι* were used in playing, only three *κύβοι* were anciently employed. Hence arose the proverb *ἢ τρὶς ἓξ, ἢ τρεῖς κύβοι*,[4] "either three sixes or three aces;" meaning all or none, for *κύβος* was used to denote the ace, as in the throw *δύο κύβω καὶ τέτταρα*, i. e., 1, 1, 4, =6.[5] As early as the time of Eustathius, we find that the modern practice of using two dice instead of three had been established.[6]

[1] *Plat., Alcib.*, p. 350.
[2] *Cic., Senect.*, 16.
[3] *Pollux*, ix., 7.
[4] *Plat., Leg.*, xii., *ad fin.*; *Schol. ad loc.*
[5] *Eupolis*, p. 174, *ed. Runkel.*
[6] *Eustath. in Od.*, i., 107.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

GRECIAN HOUSE.

I. The arrangement of the several parts of the dwellings of the Greeks forms one of the most difficult subjects in their antiquities. The only regular description of a Greek house, that by Vitruvius, is, in many respects, inconsistent with the allusions found in the Greek writers, while those allusions themselves are far too scanty and obscure to be woven into a clear description. It is manifest, also, that the arrangement of the parts differed much at different periods. There were also considerable differences between the arrangements of a town and a country house. All of these, however, had two principal features in common. *First*, in Greece, as in all warm climates, the general arrangement of a house of the better sort was that of one or more open courts, surrounded by various rooms. *Secondly*, in a Greek family the women lived in private apartments allotted to their exclusive use. Hence the house was always divided into two distinct portions, namely, the *Andronītis*, or men's apartments (*ἀνδρωνῖτις*), and *Gynæconītis*, or women's apartments (*γυναικωνῖτις*).

II. We have already described the Homeric dwellings, the principal point of difference between which and the dwellings of later times was the great court in front of the house, which was wanting in the latter. Some have supposed that in the houses referred to by Homer, the apartments of the women were in the upper story. The more correct view of the subject, however, has been given by us elsewhere. In the later houses, certainly, the women's apartments were always behind those of the men, and in the lower story. We will now proceed to give an account of the post-Homeric or later Greek dwelling.

III. The front of the house toward the street was not large, as the apartments extended rather in the direction of its depth than of its width. In towns the houses were often built side by side, with party walls between.[1] The exterior wall was plain, being composed generally of stone, brick, and timber,[2] and often covered with stucco.[3] Plutarch speaks of Phocion's house as being ornamented with plates of iron.[4]

[1] *Thucyd.*, ii., 3. [2] *Xen.*, *Mem.*, iii., 1, 7; *Demosth.*, *περὶ Συνταξ.*, p. 175.
[3] *Plut.* Compare *Arist. et Cat.*, 4. [4] *Plut.*, *Phoc.*, 18.

IV. The general character of the ordinary houses in towns was very plain, even at the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Greeks preferring to expend their wealth on temples and other public buildings. The ease with which the Platæans broke through the party-walls of their houses, to communicate with one another, in the instance just quoted from Thucydides, shows how indifferently they were constructed; and even at Athens, in the time of Pericles, foreigners were struck by the contrast between the splendor of the public buildings and the mean dwellings of the common people.[1]

V. Xenophon[2] represents Socrates as stating briefly the chief requisites of a good house: that it should be cool in summer and warm in winter, and that the apartments should furnish convenient abodes for the family, and safe receptacles for their property. For the former purpose, the chief apartments should face the south, and should be lofty, so as to receive the full rays of the sun in winter, and to be shaded by the projecting roofs in summer; and that those facing the north should be lower, for the sake of shelter.

VI. The advance of luxury, after the time of Alexander the Great, caused a corresponding improvement in the dwelling houses of the principal Greek cities, which had already begun to receive more attention, in proportion as the public buildings were neglected.[3]

VII. That there was no open space between the street and the house door, like the Roman *vestibulum*, is plain from the law of Hippias, which laid a tax on house doors opening outward, because they encroached upon the street.[4] The *πρόθυρον*, which is sometimes mentioned,[5] seems to have been merely the space in front of the house. We learn, however, from the same law of Hippias, that houses sometimes stood back from the street, within inclosures of their own (*προφράγματα* or *δρύφακτοι*[6]). In front of the house was generally an altar of Apollo Agyieus, or a rude obelisk emblematical of the god. Sometimes there was a bay-tree in the same position, and sometimes a terminal bust of the god Hermes (Mercury).[7]

VIII. A few steps (*ἀναβαθμοί*) led up to the house door, which generally bore some inscription, for the sake of a good omen, or as a charm.[8] This door, or first entrance into the house, was called *θύρα αὐλεῖος*. The door-way, when complete, consisted of four indispensable parts: the threshold or sill; the lintel; and the two jambs.

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1 *Thucyd.*, ii., 14, 65; *Dicæarch., Stat. Græc.*, p. 8.
2 *Xen., Mem.*, iii., 8, 9, 10.
3 *Demosth. c. Aristocr.*, p. 689; *Olynth.*, iii., p. 36.
4 *Aristot., Œcon.*, ii., 6, p. 1347, *Bekk.*
5 *Herod.*, vi., 35.
6 *Heracl. Pont., Polit.*, 1.
7 *Thucyd.*, vi., 27; *Aristoph., Plut.*, 1153.
8 *Plut., Frag. Vit. Crat.*; *Diog. Laert.*, vi., 50.

IX. The *threshold* (*βηλός*, *οὐδας*) was the object of superstitious reverence, and it was thought unfortunate to tread on it with the left foot. On this account the steps leading into a temple were of an uneven number, because the worshipper, after placing his right foot on the bottom step, would then place the same foot on the threshold also.[1] The *lintel*, being designed to support a superincumbent weight, was generally a single piece either of wood or stone. Hence those lintels which still remain in ancient buildings astonish us by their great length.

X. In large and splendid edifices the jambs or door-posts (*σταθμοί*) were made to converge toward the top, according to certain rules which are given by Vitruvius.[2] Although the jambs were sometimes nearly twice the length of the lintel, they were each made of a single stone, even in the largest edifices.

XI. The door itself was called *σανίς*, *κλισιάς*, or *θύρετρον*. These words are commonly found in the plural, because the door-way of every building of the least importance contained two doors folding together. Even the internal doors of houses were bivalve, and hence we read of the folding doors of a bed-chamber.[3] But in every case, each of the two valves was wide enough to allow persons to pass through without opening the other valve also. Even each valve was sometimes double, so as to fold like our window shutters.[4]

XII. By night the front door of the house was further secured by means of a wooden and sometimes an iron bar (*μοχλός*), placed across it, and inserted into sockets in each side of the door-way.[5] Hence it was necessary to remove the bar (*τὸν μοχλὸν παραφέρειν*, *ἀναμοχλεύειν*[6]) in order to open the door.[7] Even chamber doors were secured in the same manner;[8] and here, also, in case of need, the bar was employed as a further security in addition to the two bolts (*κλῆθρα συμπεραίνοντες μοχλοῖς*[9]). The door of a bed-chamber, however, was sometimes merely covered with a curtain.

XIII. In the Odyssey[10] we find mention of a contrivance for bolting or unbolting a door from the inside, which consisted of a leather thong (*ἱμάς*), inserted through a hole in the door, and by means of a loop, ring, or hook (*κλεῖς*, *κληῖς*), which was the origin of keys, capable of laying hold of the bolt, so as to move it in the manner required. The bolt, by the progress of improvement, was trans-

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[1] *Vitruv.*, iii., 4.
[2] *Id.*
[3] *Suet., Aug.*, 82; *Q. Curt.*, v., 6.
[4] *Isid., Orig.*, xv., 7.
[5] *Festus, s. v. Adserere; Ovid, Am.*, i., 6, 24, *seqq.*
[6] *Eurip., Med.*, 1309.
[7] *Theophrast., Char.*, 18.
[8] *Heliod.*, vi., p. 281, *ed. Comm.*
[9] *Eurip., Orest.*, 1546, 1566.
[10] *Od.*, i., 442; iv., 802; xxi., 6, 46.

formed into a lock, and the keys found at Herculaneum and Pompeii, and those attached to rings, prove that among the polished Greeks and Romans the art of the locksmith (*κλειδοποιός*) approached very nearly to the present state.[1]

XIV. The main door, as we have seen, sometimes opened outward; but the opposite was the general rule, as is proved by the expressions used for opening, *ἐνδοῦναι*, and shutting it, *ἐπισπάσασθαι* and *ἐφελκύσασθαι*. The handles were called *ἐπισπαστῆρες*. It was considered improper to enter a house without giving notice to its inmates. This notice the Spartans gave by shouting; the Athenians and all other nations either by using the knocker, or more commonly by rapping with the knuckles or with a stick (*κρούειν, κόπτειν*). In the houses of the rich a porter (*θυρωρός*) was always in attendance to open the door. To assist him in guarding the entrance, a dog was kept near, attached by a chain to the wall; and in reference to this practice, the warning *ἐυλαβοῦ τὴν κύνα* (*cave canem*) was sometimes written near the door.

XV. The house door gave admittance to a narrow passage (*θυρωρεῖον, πυλών, θυρών*), on one side of which, in a large house, were the stables, on the other the porter's lodge. From the *θυρωρεῖον* we pass into the peristyle or court (*περιστύλιον, αὐλή*) of the Andronitis, which was a space open to the sky in the centre (*ὕπαιθρον*), and surrounded on all four sides by porticoes (*στοαί*), of which one, probably that nearest the entrance, was called *πρόστοον*.[2] These porticoes were used for exercise, and sometimes for dining in.[3] Here was commonly the altar on which sacrifices were offered to the household gods; but frequently portable altars were used for this purpose.[4]

XVI. Round the peristyle were arranged the chambers used by the men (*οἶκοι ἀνδρῶνες*), such as banqueting-rooms, which were large enough to contain several sets of couches, and, at the same time, to allow abundant room for attendants, musicians, and performers of games;[5] parlors or sitting-rooms (*ἐξέδραι*), and smaller chambers and sleeping-rooms (*δωμάτια, κοιτῶνες, οἰκήματα*); picture galleries and libraries, and sometimes store-rooms; and in the arrangement of these apartments attention was paid to their aspect.

XVII. The peristyle of the Andronitis was connected with that of the Gynæconitis by a door called *μέταυλος, μέσαυλος*, or *μεσαύλιος*, which was in the middle of the portico of the peristyle opposite to

[1] *Achill. Tat.*, ii., 19.
[2] *Plat., Protag.*, p. 314, *seqq.*
[3] *Pollux*, i., 78; *Plat., Symp.*, p. 212.
[4] *Plat., Polit.*, i., p. 328.
[5] *Vitruv.*, iii., 4; *Xen., Symp.*, i., 4, 13.

the entrance. By means of this, all communication between the Andronitis and the Gynæconitis could be shut off. Its name, *μέσαυλος*, is evidently derived from *μέσος*, and means the door *between* the two *αὐλαί* or peristyles.[1] The other name, *μέταυλος*, appears to be derived from *μετά*, as indicating the door behind or beyond the *αὐλή*, with respect to the *αὔλειος θύρα*, or house door.[2]

XVIII. This door gave admittance to the peristyle of the Gynæconitis, which differed from that of the Andronitis in having porticoes round only three of its sides. On the fourth side, that opposite to the *μέσαυλος θύρα*, were placed two *antæ*, at a considerable distance from each other. A third of the distance between these two *antæ* was set off inward,[3] thus forming a chamber or vestibule, which was called *προστάς*, *παραστάς*, and perhaps *παστάς*, and also *πρόδομος*, although some of the later Greek writers apply the word *πρόδομος* to the vestibule of the Andronitis, and such seems to have been its meaning in Homer's time. On the right and left of this *προστάς* were two bed-chambers, the *θάλαμος* and *ἀμφιθάλαμος*, of which the former was the principal bed-chamber of the house; and here, also, seems to have been kept the vases and other valuable articles of ornament. Beyond these rooms were large apartments (*ἱστῶνες*) used for working in wool. Round the peristyle were the eating-rooms, bed-chambers, store-rooms, and other apartments in common use.

XIX. There was usually, though not always, an upper story (*ὑπερῷον*, *διῆρες*), which seldom extended over the whole space occupied by the lower story. The principal use of the upper story was for the lodging of the slaves.[4] The access to the upper floor seems to have been sometimes by stairs on the outside of the house, leading up from the street. Guests were also lodged in the upper story.[5] But in some large houses there were rooms set apart for their reception (*ξενῶνες*), on the ground floor.[6] In cases of emergency, store-rooms were fitted up for the reception of guests.[7] Portions of the upper story sometimes projected beyond the walls of the lower part of the house, forming balconies or verandahs (*προβολαί*, *γεισιποδίσματα*[8]).

XX. The opposite plan of the ground floor of a Greek house of the larger size is taken from Becker's Charicles. It is, of course, conjectural, as there are no Greek houses in existence.

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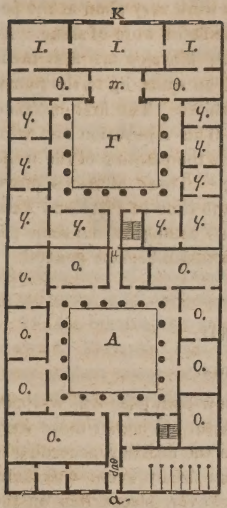
[1] *Suid.*, *s. v.* Μεσαύλιον.
[2] *Lys.*, *de Cæd. Erat.*, p. 20; *Plut.*, *Symp.*, vii., 1.
[3] *Vitruv.*, *l. c.*
[4] *Demosth. c. Euerg.*, p. 1156.
[5] *Antiph.*, *de Venef.*, p. 611.
[6] *Vitruv.*, *l. c.*; *Pollux*, iv., 125; *Eurip.*, *Alcest.*, 564.
[7] *Plat.*, *Protag.*, p. 315.
[8] *Pollux*, i., 81.



α. House door, αὔλειος θύρα: θυρ., passage, θυρωρεῖον or θυρών.
Α. Peristyle or αὐλή of the Andronitis.
ο. The halls and chambers of the Andronitis.
μ. μέταυλος, or μέσαυλος θύρα.
Γ. Peristyle of the Gynæconitis.
γ. Chambers of the Gynæconitis.
π. προστάς or παραστάς.
θ. θάλαμος and ἀμφιθάλαμος.
I. Rooms for working in wool (ἱστῶνες).
K. Garden door, κηπαία θύρα.

XXI. The roofs were generally flat, and it was customary to walk about upon them.[1] But pointed roofs were also used. In the interior of the house, the place of doors was sometimes supplied by curtains (παραπετάσματα), which were either plain, or dyed, or embroidered.[2] The principal openings for the admission of light and air were in the roofs of the peristyles; but it is incorrect to suppose that the houses had no windows (θυρίδες), or, at least, none overlooking the street. They were not at all uncommon,[3] but appear to have been merely openings in the wall, closed by means of shutters. At a late period, about the time of the early Roman emperors, glass was probably introduced, at least so the discoveries at Pompeii would appear to indicate.

XXII. Artificial warmth was procured partly by means of fireplaces. It is supposed that chimneys were altogether unknown, and that the smoke escaped through an opening in the roof (καπνοδόκη[4]). It is not easy, however, to understand how this could be the case, when there was an upper story. Little portable stoves (ἐσχάραι, ἐσχαρίδες), or chafing dishes (ἀνθράκια), were frequently used.[5]

1 *Lys. c. Simon.*, p. 142.
2 *Pollux*, x., 32.
3 *Aristoph., Thesm.*, 797; *Eccles.*, 961.
4 *Herod.*, viii., 137.
5 *Plut., Apophth.*, i., p. 717.

XXIII. The decorations of the interior were very plain at the period to which our description refers. The floors were of stone. At a late period colored stones were used.[1] Mosaics are first mentioned under the kings of Pergamus. The walls, up to the fourth century B.C., seem to have been only whited. The first instance of painting them is that of Alcibiades.[2] This innovation met with considerable opposition.[3] Plato mentions the painting of the walls of houses as a mark of a *τρυφῶσα πόλις*.[4] These allusions prove that the practice was not uncommon in the time of Plato and Xenophon. We have also mention of painted ceilings at the same period. At a later period this mode of decoration became general.

CHAPTER XXXII.

GRECIAN EDUCATION.

I. In all Greece, except Sparta,[5] the new-born babe was wrapped in *σπάργανα* immediately after the first bath. Whether these were swaddling-clothes is not quite clear. On the fifth day, according to Suidas, the first festival in honor of the family event was held, namely, the *ἀμφιδρόμια*. Hesychius, however, places this on the seventh day. The midwife, or some other of the women present at the birth, carried the babe round the hearth of the house; hence the name.[6] The house door was ornamented with flowers, and a feast was given, at which the *ῥάφανος*, kale, according to Athenæus, was a standing dish. It would almost appear from Plato that the father did not declare, until this ceremony, whether he would educate the child; for on him depended whether the child should be brought up or exposed, a species of barbarity which was actually recognized by law. Thebes, however, was an honorable exception to this rule.[7] The offspring of those who were in extreme poverty were to be brought up at the public expense.

II. But the grand festival was the *δεκάτη*, held on the tenth day, when the relations and friends were invited to a sacrifice and banquet; and this ceremony went for a proof before the tribunal that the child was recognized as legitimate by its father.[8] On this occasion presents were made to the children by the father and mother, the relatives, and even by the slaves, and then, also, the infant re-

[1] *Plin., H. N.*, xxxvi., 25, 60.
[2] *Andoc. c. Alcib.*, p. 119; *Plut., Alcib.*, 16.
[3] *Xen., Mem.*, iii., 8, 10.
[4] *Plat., Polit.*
[5] *Plut., Lycurg.*, 16.
[6] *Plat., Theæt.*, 160.
[7] *Ælian, V. H.*, ii., 7.
[8] *Isæus, de Pyrrhi hæred.*, 60.

ceived its name.[1] The father mostly chose the name, though it could not have been unusual for the mother to do so. The son was often called after the father; more commonly, however, after the paternal grandfather.

III. The Greeks had no family or clan names, one appellation only serving for an individual. But, as many persons might bear this name, to avoid confusion, the father's name was appended.[2] Besides these, Attic wit had recourse to abundance of nick-names, derived either from some peculiarity, or owing to chance circumstances. Thus Demosthenes was called Βάταλος, even from childhood.[3] So the frosty tragic poet Theognis was yclept Χίων;[4] and the fragment of Anaxandrides, in Athenæus, shows it to have been a universal habit with the Athenians.

IV. As regards the τροφή, or nurture of the infant, the rule laid down by Plutarch,[5] that mothers should suckle their own children, was seldom observed by the wealthy classes, and nurses were in general use. But the τίτθη or τιτθή (the term τιθήνη properly means the attendant merely) was often not a slave, but one of the poor ἀσταί, who gave their services for hire. Sometimes Spartan nurses, who were in great repute for their skill in managing children, were bought, as for Alcibiades.[6] Besides suckling, the children were also fed with honey.[7] When they could take more substantial nourishment, the τίτθη first chewed the food, and then gave it to the infant.[8] Athenæus, incredibly enough, relates that a certain person retained this habit during his whole life, for convenience sake.[9]

V. Cradles are first mentioned by Plutarch;[10] Plato knows nothing of them.[11] It is true, the σκάφη is often mentioned;[12] but, though used for the same purpose as a cradle, it can in no passage be considered to mean a regular one. Doubtless mothers and nurses went about dandling the baby in their arms, and singing the while.[13] These lullabies were called βαυκαλήματα or καταβαυκαλήσεις.[14] Children were not encouraged to walk early. According to Plato,[15] the boys remained under the hands of the mother and nurse until their sixth year, and up to that time were educated along with the girls.

1 *Aristoph., Aves*, 922.
2 *Xen., Œcon.*, 7, 3; *Pausan.*, vii., 7, 4.
3 *Æschin. c. Timarch.*, 139.
4 *Aristoph., Acharn.*, 138; *Schol. ad loc.*
5 *De Educ. Puer.*, 5.
6 *Plut., Lyc.*, 16.
7 *Böckh, ad Pind., Olymp.*, vi., 158.
8 *Theoph., Char.*, 20.
9 *Athen.*, xii., 40.
10 *Fragm. in Hesiod.*, 45.
11 *Plat., Leg.*, vii., 789.
12 Compare *Aristot., Poet.*, 16.
13 Compare *Plat.*, p. 790.
14 *Aristot., Probl.*, xix., 38; *Athen.*, xiv., 10.
15 *Leg.*, vii., p. 794.

VI. The toys (*crepundia*) accustomed to be given to children served also as *γνωρίσματα*, or means of recognizing them in after years. Sometimes they were suspended from the neck (*δέραια* or *περιδέραια*[1]). Such play-things were mostly of metal, whence the Roman name *crepundia*. The Greeks had regular child's rattles, *πλαταγαί*, of which Archytas is named as the inventor.[2] Pausanias mentions among the curiosities in the temple of Juno at Olympia, a small bed ornamented with ivory, said to have been a play-thing, *παίγνιον*, of Hippodamia's.[3] Dolls (*κόραι*) they had in plenty, and the *κοροπλάθοι*, or *κοροπλάσται*, had always a supply on sale in the market. They were, however, different from those in use now, being made of clay and painted. None of the grammarians, excepting Timæus, Suidas, and Harpocration, say a word about wax in the making of these dolls, all speaking only of *πηλός*. The *πλασθέντα κήρινα*, in Pollux, are merely the models for dolls, over which the *πηλός* was laid, and which afterward were melted out in order to preserve the hollow form.

VII. There were other amusements, such as the hoop (*τροχός*), the top (*ῥόμβος*, *στρόβιλος*), not to mention the cockchafer fastened by a thread.[4] Among several other games mentioned by Pollux[5] is the *χαλκῆ μυῖα*, a sort of blind-man's-buff. Amid the rough manners of Sparta, it is interesting to find Agesilaus riding about amid his children astride of a reed.[6] Generally, however, great caution was exercised in keeping up one's dignity before children. The nurses and attendants had a store of tales (*μῦθοι*) for the amusement of children, and *γραῶν* or *τιτθῶν μῦθοι* has grown into a proverb.[7] As these tales were mostly connected with veneration for the deities (the ancient mythology embracing all that was wonderful), the telling of them might have the greatest influence over the moral education of the children; and hence Plato enlarges much on the care to be used in their selection,[8] repudiating even Hesiod and Homer. Plutarch[9] wished to place these matters under the supervision of the Pædonomoi. Adults as well as children took pleasure in these stories, so that there were persons who became regular story-tellers for gain.

VIII. In process of time, children were intrusted to the care of the *παιδαγωγός*. At what age this took place is uncertain, though

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1 *Eurip.*, *Ion*, 1430.
2 *Aristot.*, *de Republ.*, viii., 6.
3 *Pausan.*, v., 20.
4 *Aristoph.*, *Nub.*, 763; *Vesp.*, 1341.
5 *Pollux*, ix., 122.
6 *Plut.*, *Ages.*, 25.
7 *Plat.*, *Gorg.*, 527; *Hipp. Maj.*, 286.
8 *Plat.*, *Republ.*, ii., 377.
9 *De Educ. Puer.*, 5.

Plato seems to have had in his eye the end of the sixth year, at which period the boys were to be first separated from the girls. This *παιδαγωγός* was a slave. Intelligent and honest persons, and of polished manners, were obtained if possible, though this could not always be accomplished. These *παιδαγωγοί* accompanied the boys to school and the gymnasium—indeed, every where. They carried the boy's books and other school requirements. Whether they remained all the while at the school, as they did at the gymnasium, or returned to fetch their charge, does not appear; for even though the school-room was called *παιδαγωγεῖον*,[1] this has nothing to do with the *παιδαγωγός*. Older persons, excepting near relations of the master, were forbidden to enter the school-room during lessons.[2] Young people remained under the surveillance of *παιδαγωγοί* until they reached the age of ephebi.

IX. From this age, then, commenced the entirely out-of-doors instruction, namely, at the schools and gymnasiums. Plato[3] does not in the slightest allude to private teaching at home, as Cramer has incorrectly supposed. It is nowhere definitely stated at what year the boy commenced going to school. Plato[4] seems to restrict lads to the bodily exercise of the gymnasium merely till their tenth year, which year he fixes for their commencement *ἐν γράμμασι*; but this could scarcely have happened; and boys were doubtless sent early to school, as nowadays, to keep them out of mischief at home. Indeed, Lucian says as much.[5]

X. The state had but little concern with the schools.[6] There were laws, it is true, about instruction, but we do not know how far they were carried out. Those of Solon, mentioned by Æschines, are all to prevent moral abuses. The state never thought of erecting public institutions, to be maintained at the general expense. What Plato[7] says about appointing teachers to be paid at the public cost is purely his own idea, which was not realized till afterward. Such establishments as that mentioned by Diodorus Siculus[8] were not founded until a later period. On the whole, it depended on the parents' own sense of duty as to the sort of education their children received. Some got none at all; but this was not usual; and so necessary a thing did daily school-going seem, that when the women and children of Athens fled to Trœzene before the Persians, the inhabitants, besides supporting them, paid persons to teach their children.[9] The Mytileneans, when masters of the sea, punished

[1] *Demosth., de Coron.*, 313. [2] *Æschin. c. Timarch.*, 38. [3] *Protag.*, 320.
[4] *Leg.*, vii., 794. [5] *Hermotim.*, 82. [6] *Plut., Alcib.*, i., 122.
[7] *Leg.*, vii., 804. [8] *Diod. Sic.*, xii., 13. [9] *Plut., Themist.*, 10.

those allies who revolted by not allowing their children to be taught their letters, deeming this the severest penalty they could inflict.[1]

XI. The tutors were, in some degree, under the surveillance of the state, and certain officers, probably the *παιδονόμοι* mentioned by Aristotle,[2] were appointed by Solon to inspect them; but their functions were confined to the administration of certain laws respecting morality, while the state regarded but little the qualifications of the tutors and their method of teaching. Perhaps the only requirement was that they should be of a certain age, since the *χορηγοὶ παίδων* also must be more than forty.

XII. We may judge from the pay of the Rhetors and Sophists as to what that of the schoolmaster might have been. His income would depend on the number of scholars.[3] The times of payment, also, are not known, but would appear to have been monthly.[4] At all events, there was much irregularity about it.[5] At Athens the number of pupils seems to have been restricted by law.[6] We read of a school at Astypalea numbering about sixty boys.[7] Sometimes the number ran very low. Many schools were elegantly furnished. The *βάθροι* were benches for the pupils one above another.

XIII. Instruction began with the early morning, children as well as adults rising at this time.[8] A law of Solon enacted that the schools should open *μὴ πρότερον ἡλίου ἀνιόντος*. We learn from Thucydides that this was the case elsewhere; as he tells us that the Thracians surprised Mycalessus *ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, and butchered the children assembled in a school.[9] As is clear from the law above cited, the schools were opened again in the afternoon, *μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον*.[10]

XIV. Instruction was in three branches: *γράμματα*, *μουσική*, *γυμναστική*.[11] Aristotle[12] adds a fourth branch, drawing or painting. The term *γράμματα*, in its simplest signification, comprehends reading, writing, and arithmetic. In learning to read, the method of dividing into syllables (*συλλαβίζειν*) was employed. After mastering this, they were next instructed in the component portions of a sentence, and then commenced reading, properly so called.[13] There are some interesting passages about writing and reckoning. Copies were given by the teachers.[14] Plato, however, requires but a small

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[1] *Ælian, V. H.*, vii., 15. [2] *Aristot.*, iv., 15. [3] *Æschin. c. Timarch.*, 34.
[4] *Theophrast., Char.*, 30. [5] *Demosth. c. Aphob.*, i., 828.
[6] *Æschin. c. Timarch.*, 34. [7] *Pausan.*, vi., 9, 3. [8] *Plat, Leg.*, vii., 808.
[9] *Thucyd.*, vii., 29. [10] *Lucian, de Parasito*, 61.
[11] *Plat., Theag.*, 122; *Plutarch, de Audit.*, 17. [12] *De Republ.*, viii., 3.
[13] *Athen.*, x., 79. [14] *Plat., Prot.*, 326.

degree of facility in reading as well as writing.[1] He also wishes reckoning to be learned by play, and the abstract ideas of numbers to be embodied as much as possible by using apples and such like things.[2] Otherwise the fingers were mostly used, not only at school, but in every-day life, or, when more accuracy was needed, counters (*ψῆφοι*). The fingers were also used to express numbers by placing them in different shapes.[3]

XV. When the children could read, and understand what they read, the works of poets were in requisition, to exercise their mind, and awaken their hearts to great and noble deeds. Plato[4] recommends committing whole poems and select passages from them to memory; a method of instruction which was universal. Above all, the poems of Homer were thought to contain every thing calculated to instruct a man how to be *καλὸς κἀγαθός*, and to awaken feelings of nationality.[5]

XVI. The study of music began with the thirteenth year. Music was not a necessary portion of the *παιδεία*, but was accounted a noble and worthy occupation in the hours of recreation and leisure. The *λύρα* or *κιθάρα*, for they are sometimes interchanged, was the chief, or, rather, only instrument deemed befitting a free man. For some time at Athens the flute was also a great favorite, but it soon fell into disuse, not only because it distorted the face, but also especially from not allowing the accompaniment of the voice. To this victory of the lyre over the flute the fable of Marsyas unquestionably alludes. Still this applied chiefly to Athens, whereas elsewhere, as at Thebes, the flute maintained its ground.

XVII. Nothing is said of regular vacations at certain intervals, though naturally the numerous public festivals would cause holidays at the schools. The Greeks appear to have known nothing of a four-month's summer vacation, as K. F. Hermann[6] has assumed for the Roman or Italian youth generally. Youth continued going to school until they reached riper years, that is, generally till sixteen. The teachers of a higher order, namely, the rhetoricians and sophists, were attended subsequent to this, for wealthy parents kept their sons generally at school longer than others.[7] Their charges were heavy, and only the rich could afford them. Thus Aristippus demanded one thousand drachmæ,[8] and, according to Plutarch, Isocrates received a like sum. The sophists seem to

[1] *Leg.*, vii., 810.
[2] *Ib.*, 819.
[3] *Böttiger, Kunstmythol.*, i., 267.
[4] *Leg.*, vii., 810.
[5] *Isocr., Paneg.*, 95.
[6] *Disp. d. Hor., Serm.*, i., 6, 74.
[7] *Plat., Protag.*, 326.
[8] *Plutarch, de Educ. Puer.*, 7.

have insisted most rigidly upon their pay, without abating one fraction to the lower classes.

XVIII. Little is known of the schools of other cities; but the *παιδεία*, with the exception of Sparta, was, on the whole, the same. With the Spartans mental culture was a secondary consideration, and Aristotle[1] upbraids them with bringing up their children like beasts; but perhaps this applies to a later period.[2] Concerning Thebes, we have a sad testimony from Aristophanes the Bœotian.[3] Herodotus wished to open a school there, but the magistrates forbade him. Diogenes speaks in still more severe terms.[4] Whether these accounts are authentic or not, it is at least certain that less was done at Thebes for education than at Athens, else the more sensible Theban parents would not have sent their sons to school at Athens as they did.

XIX. All that has been said hitherto respects the instruction of the boys merely. Nowhere is any thing said about similar institutions for girls; and, indeed, this would have been incompatible with the universal training of the female sex. Plato,[5] it is true, wants separate gymnasia for the boys and girls, but this is nothing more than a proposition, and was never heard of in practice. For the daughter of a free burgher to have frequented a school out of her father's house would have been repugnant to every notion of feminine decorum; so that the meagre instruction which they received was at the hands of the mother or nurse.

XX. Outward propriety (*εὐκοσμία*) was especially attended to.[6] Several minute points of etiquette, such as taking the victuals with the right hand, and so forth, were rigidly enforced upon the pupil. In the streets, the boys had to look straight before them on the ground, with head downcast.[7] Modesty and respect toward their elders was one of the first duties inculcated on youth. When the father entertained guests at home, the son sometimes appeared and *sat* at table, the adults *reclined*; but this did not always take place,[8] and occasionally the children were sent away to the women's apartments for want of room.[9] In more ancient times, it was accounted highly improper for youths, even long after they had emerged from childhood, to take part in public business. This was strictly observed at Sparta;[10] and, although not so much at Athens, yet the

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1 *De Republ.*, viii., 4.
2 *Müller, Dor.*, ii., 299.
3 *Plutarch, de Herod. Malig.*, 31.
4 *Dio Chrysost., Or.*, x., 306.
5 *Leg.*, vi., 764.
6 *Plat., Protag.*, 326.
7 *Plutarch, de Educ. Puer.*, 7.
8 *Theophrast., Charact.*, 5.
9 *Lucian, Somn. s. Gall.*, 11.
10 *Plut., Lyc.*, 25.

feeling of *αἰδώς* deterred the youth from so doing. A change, however, in this respect, seems to have taken place from the time of the Peloponnesian war.

XXI. With the sixteenth year, the youth of Athens began a transition period, during which he had to be particularly attentive to the exercises of the gymnasium. This is the time in which Lucian calls himself *πρόςηβος*, though the general expression for this interval was *ἐπὶ διετὲς ἡβῆσαι*.[1] When these two years had elapsed the youth was admitted among the ephebi, and, with the exception that he must serve the state until his twentieth year as *περίπολος*, he now entered at once on a free course of action, and (at least, if he belonged to the higher classes) could follow his own inclination in the selection of his profession. Many fathers, of substantial means, endeavored to bring up their sons to business, as is clear from the comic poets; but those who could afford it mostly devoted themselves to pleasure, such as the chase, horse-training, or became scholars of the philosophers. Nor must we omit the passionate fondness for cock and quail fighting. The state had no objection to these amusements; nay, the Areopagus urged the rich to them, quite as much as it did the poor to labor;[2] and this not only as a harmless way of diverting the unruly passions of youth, but because, if they obtained prizes at the Olympian or other games, they opened a source of wealth and renown to the state.

XXII. In Sparta, on the other hand, where every individual pursuit was entirely discouraged, and the whole youth brought up after one rule, and for the state, there was but little scope for indulging these private tastes. There, also, the youth became a man at eighteen.

Dec 24. 1852

CHAPTER XXXIII.

GYMNASIA.

I. The whole education of a Grecian youth, as we have remarked in the previous chapter, was divided into three parts, grammar (*γράμματα*), music, and gymnastics, to which Aristotle adds a fourth, the art of drawing or painting. Gymnastics, however, were thought by the ancients a matter of such importance, that this part of education alone occupied as much time and attention as all the others put together; and while the latter necessarily ceased at a certain period of life, gymnastics continued to be cultivated by persons of

[1] *Böckh, de Ephebia Attica*, 1819. [2] *Isocr., Areopag.*, 17.

all ages, though those of an advanced age naturally took lighter and less fatiguing exercises than boys and youths.

II. The ancients, and more especially the Greeks, seem to have been thoroughly convinced that the mind could not possibly be in a healthy state unless the body was likewise in perfect health, and no means were thought either by philosophers or physicians to be more conducive to preserve or restore bodily health than well-regulated exercise. The word gymnasium is derived from γυμνός (naked), because the persons who performed their exercises in public or private gymnasia were either entirely naked, or merely covered by the short chiton.[1]

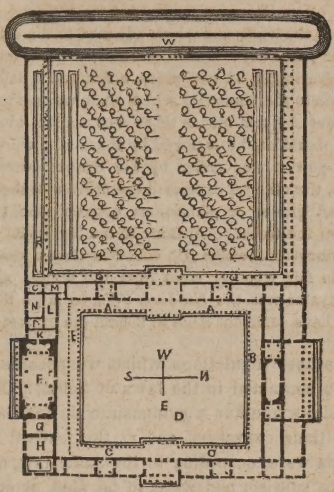
III. The great partiality of the Greeks for gymnastic exercises was productive of infinite good: they gave to the body that healthy and beautiful development, by which the Greeks excelled other nations, and which, at the same time, imparted to their minds that power and elasticity which will ever be admired in all their productions.[2] The plastic art in particular must have found its first and chief nourishment in the gymnastic and athletic performances, and it may be justly observed that the Greeks would never have attained their pre-eminence in sculpture, had not their gymnastic and athletic exhibitions made the artists familiar with the beautiful forms of the human body in its various attitudes. Respecting the advantages of gymnastics in a medical point of view, some remarks will be found at the end of the present chapter.

IV. Gymnastic exercises among the Greeks were generally held in the open air, and in plains near a river, which afforded an opportunity for swimming and bathing. The Attic legends, indeed, referred the regulations of gymnastics to Theseus,[3] but, according to Galen, it seems to have been about the time of Clisthenes that gymnastics were reduced to a regular and complete system. Great progress, however, must have been made as early as the time of Solon, as appears from some of his laws, which will be mentioned presently. It was about the same period that the Greek towns began to build their regular gymnasia as places of exercise for the young, with baths, and other conveniences for philosophers and all persons who sought intellectual amusement. Athens possessed three great gymnasia, the Lycēum (Λύκειον), Cynosarges (Κυνόσαργες), and the Academia (Ἀκαδημία), to which, in later times, several smaller ones were added.

V. All places of this kind were, on the whole, built on the same

[1] *Wachsmuth, Hellen. Alterth.*, vol. ii., p. 354, 2d ed. [2] *Lucian, de Gymnast.*, 15.
[3] *Pausan.*, i., 39, 3.

plan, though with many differences in their detail. The following cut represents one according to the description given by Vitruvius.[1]



The peristylia (D) in a gymnasium were placed in the form of a square or oblong, and had two stadia (twelve hundred feet) in circumference. They consisted of four porticoes. In three of them (A B C) spacious halls (*exedræ*), with seats, were erected, in which philosophers, rhetoricians, and others, who delighted in intellectual conversation, might assemble. A fourth portico (E), toward the south, was double, so that the interior walk was not exposed to bad weather. The double portico contained the following apartments. The *Ephebēum* (F), a spacious hall with seats in the middle, and by one third longer than broad. On the right is the *Corycēum* (G), perhaps the same room, which in other cases was called *Apodyterium*: then came the *Conisterium* (H), adjoining it; and next to the *Conisterium*, in the returns of the portico, was the cold bath (λοῦτρον), indicated by the letter I on the plan. On the left of the Ephebeum was the *Elæothesium*, where persons were anointed by the aliptæ (K). Adjoining the Elæothesium was the *Frigidarium* (L), the object of which is unknown. From thence was the entrance to the *Propnigēum* (M), on the returns of the portico; near which, but more inward, behind the place of the Frigidarium, was the vaulted sudatory (N), in length twice its breadth, which had on the returns the *Laconicum* (O) on one side, and opposite the Laconicum the hot-bath (P).

On the outside three porticoes were built: one (Q) in passing out from

[1] *Vitruv.*, v., 11.

the peristyle, and, on the right and left, the two stadial porticoes (R S), of which the one (S) that faces the north was made double and of great breadth; the other (R) was single, and so designed, that in the parts which encircled the walls, and which adjoined to the columns, there might be margins for paths not less than ten feet; and the middle was so excavated that there might be two steps, a foot and a half in descent, to go from the margin to the plane (R), which plane was not to be less in breadth than twelve feet; by this means those who walked about the margins in their apparel would not be annoyed by those who were exercising themselves. This portico was called by the Greeks ξυστός, because, in the winter season, the athletæ exercised themselves in these covered stadia. The ξυστός had groves or plantations between the two porticoes, and walks between the trees. Adjoining to the ξυστός (R) and double portico (S) were the uncovered walks (U), called in Greek παραδρομίδες, to which the athletæ in fair weather went from the winter xystus to exercise. Beyond the xystus was the *Stadium* (W), so large that a multitude of people might have sufficient room to behold the contests of the athletæ.

VI. The earliest regulations which we possess concerning the gymnasia are contained in the laws of Solon. One of these laws forbade all adults to enter a gymnasium during the time that boys were taking their exercises, and at the festival of the Hermæa. The gymnasia were, according to the same law, not allowed to be opened before sunrise, and were to be shut at sunset.[1] Another law of Solon excluded slaves from gymnastic exercises.[2] Boys who were children of an Athenian citizen and a foreign mother (νόθοι) were not admitted to any other gymnasium but the Cynosarges.[3]

VII. Married as well as unmarried women were, at Athens and in all the Ionian states, excluded from the gymnasia; but at Sparta, and in some other Doric states, maidens, dressed in the short χιτών, were not only admitted as spectators, but also took part in the exercises of the youths. Married women, however, did not there frequent the gymnasia.[4]

VIII. Respecting the superintendence and administration of the gymnasia at Athens, we know that Solon in his legislation thought them worthy of great attention; and the transgression of some of his laws relating to the gymnasia was punished with death. His laws mention a magistrate called the Gymnasiarch (γυμνασίαρχος or γυμνασιάρχης), who was intrusted with the whole management of the gymnasia, and with every thing connected therewith. His office was one of the regular liturgies,[5] and was attended with considera-

[1] *Æschin. c. Timarch.*, p. 38.
[2] *Id. ib.*, p. 147; *Plut., Solon*, 1.
[3] *Plut., Them.*, 1.
[4] *Plat., de Leg.*, vii., p. 806.
[5] *Isæus, de Philoc. hær.*, p. 154.

ble expense. He had to maintain and pay the persons who were preparing themselves for the games and contests at the public festivals, to provide them with oil, and perhaps with the wrestler's dust. It also devolved on him to adorn the gymnasium or the place where the contests took place.[1] The gymnasiarch was a real magistrate, and was invested with a kind of jurisdiction over all those who frequented or were connected with the gymnasia, and his power seems to have extended beyond the gymnasia, for Plutarch[2] states that he watched and controlled the conduct of the ephebi in general.

IX. The gymnasiarch had also the power to remove from the gymnasia teachers, philosophers, and sophists, whenever he conceived that they exercised an injurious influence upon the young. Another part of his duties was to conduct the solemn games at certain great festivals, especially the torch-race, for which he selected the most distinguished among the ephebi of the gymnasia. The number of gymnasiarchs was, according to Libanius on Demosthenes,[3] ten, one from each tribe. They seem to have undertaken their official duties in turns, but in what manner is unknown.

X. Among the external distinctions of a gymnasiarch were a purple cloak and white shoes. In early times the office of gymnasiarch lasted for one year, but under the Roman emperors we find that they sometimes held it only for a month, so that there were twelve or thirteen gymnasiarchs in one year. This office seems to have been considered so great an honor that even Roman generals and emperors were ambitious of holding it. Other Greek towns, like Athens, had their own gymnasiarchs, but we do not know whether, or to what extent, their duties differed from those of the Athenian gymnasiarchs. In Cyrene the office was sometimes held by women.[4]

XI. Another office connected with the gymnasia was that of *Cosmetes*. He had to arrange certain games, to register the names and keep the lists of the ephebi, and to maintain order and discipline among them. He was assisted by an *Anticosmetes* and two *Hypocosmetæ*.[5]

XII. An office of very great importance in an educational point of view was that of the *Sophronistæ* (σωφρονισταί). Their province was to inspire the youths, as we have before remarked, with a love of σωφροσύνη, and to protect this virtue against all injurious influences. In early times their number at Athens was ten, one from

[1] *Xen., de Rep. Athen.*, i., 13.
[2] *Amat.*, c. 9, *seqq.*
[3] *Dem. c. Mid.*, p. 510.
[4] *Krause, Gymn. u. Agon. d. Hell.*, p. 179, *seqq.*
[5] *Id. ib.*, p. 211, *seqq.*

every tribe, with a salary of one drachma per day.[1] Their duty not only required them to be present at all the games of the ephebi, but to watch and correct their conduct wherever they might meet them, both within and without the gymnasium.

XIII. The instruction in the gymnasia was given by the *Gymnastæ* (γυμνασταί) and the *Pædotribæ* (παιδοτρίβαι): at a later period *hypopædotribæ* were added. The παιδοτρίβης was required to possess a knowledge of all the various exercises which were performed in the gymnasia: the γυμναστής was the practical teacher, and was expected to know the physiological effects and influences on the constitution of the youths, and therefore assigned to each of them those exercises which he deemed most suitable.[2] These teachers were usually athletæ, who had left their profession, or could not succeed in it.[3]

XIV. The anointing of the bodies of the youths, and strewing them with dust before they commenced their exercises, as well as the regulation of their diet, was the duty of the *Aliptæ* (ἀλεῖπται). The chief object of this anointing was to close the pores of the body, in order to prevent excessive perspiration, and the weakness consequent thereon. To effect this object, the oil was not simply spread over the surface of the body, but was also well rubbed into the skin. The oil was mixed with fine African sand, several jars full of which were found in the baths of Titus, and one of these is now in the British Museum. This preparatory anointing was called ἡ παρασκευαστικὴ τρῖψις. There was also another anointing after the exercises were over, in order to restore the tone of the skin and muscles. This anointing was called ἡ ἀποθεραπεία. The individual then bathed, and had the dust, sweat, and oil scraped off his body by means of an instrument similar to the *strigilis* of the Romans, and called στλεγγίς, and afterward ξύστρα. The aliptæ took advantage of the knowledge they necessarily acquired of the state of the muscles of the athletæ, and their general strength or weakness of body, to advise them as to their exercises and mode of life. They were thus a kind of medical trainers, ἰατραλεῖπται.[4]

XV. The games and exercises which were performed in the gymnasia seem, on the whole, to have been the same throughout Greece. Among the Dorians, however, they were regarded chiefly as institutions for hardening the body and for military training; among the

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[1] *Etymol. Mag.*, *s. v.*

[2] *Galen, de Valet. tuend.*, ii., 9, 11; *Aristot., Polit.*, viii., 3, 2.

[3] *Ælian, V. H.*, ii., 6; *Galen, l. c.*, ii., 3.

[4] *Plut., de tuend. san.*, 16, p. 430; *Celsus*, i., 1.

Ionians, and especially the Athenians, they had an additional and higher object, namely, to give to the body and its movements grace and beauty, and to make it the basis of a healthy and sound mind. But among all the different tribes of the Greeks, the exercises which were carried on in a Greek gymnasium were either mere games or the more important exercises which the gymnasia had in common with the public contests in the great festivals.

XVI. Among the former we may mention, 1. The ball (*σφαίρισις, σφαιρομαχία*, &c.), which was in universal favor with the Greeks, and was here, as at Rome, played in a variety of ways.[1] Every gymnasium contained one large room for the purpose of playing at ball in it (*σφαιριστήριον*). 2. *Παίζειν ἑλκυστίνδα, διελκυστίνδα*, or *διὰ γραμμῆς*, was a game in which one boy, holding one end of a rope, tried to pull the boy who held its other end across a line marked between them on the ground. 3. The top (*βέμβηξ, βέμβιξ, ῥόμβος, στρόβιλος*), which was as common an amusement with the Greek boys as in our own days. 4. The *πεντάλιθος*, which was a game with five stones, which were thrown up from the upper part of the hand and caught in the palm. 5. *Σκαπέρδα*, which was a game in which a rope was drawn through the upper part of a tree or a post. Two boys, one on each side of the post, turning their backs toward one another, took hold of the ends of the rope and tried to pull each other up. These few games will serve to show the character of the gymnastic sports.

XVII. The more important games were, 1. Running (*δρόμος*). 2. Throwing of the discus (*δίσκος*) and the javelin (*ἄκων*). 3. Jumping and leaping (*ἅλμα*). 4. Wrestling (*πάλη*). 5. Boxing (*πυγμή*). 6. The pancratium (*παγκράτιον*). 7. The *πένταθλον*. These will be considered in the account to be given of the Grecian games.

XVIII. A gymnasium was, as Vitruvius observes, not a Roman institution; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus[2] expressly states, that the whole *ἀγωνιστική* of the Romans, though it was practiced at an early period in the Ludi Maximi, was introduced among the Romans from Greece. Their attention, however, to developing and strengthening the body by exercises was considerable, though only for military purposes. The regular training of boys in the Greek gymnastics was foreign to Roman manners, and even held in contempt.[3] Toward the end of the republic, many wealthy Romans, who had acquired a taste for Greek manners, used to attach to their villas small places for bodily exercise, sometimes called gymnasia, some-

[1] *Plat., Leg.*, vii., 797; *Becker, Gallus*, i., p. 270.
[2] *Ant. Rom.*, vii., 70, *seqq.*
[3] *Plut., Quæst. Rom.*, 40.

times palæstræ, and to adorn them with beautiful works of art.[1] Nero was the first who built a public gymnasium at Rome;[2] another was erected by Commodus.[3] But, although these institutions were intended to introduce Greek gymnastics among the Romans, yet they never gained any great importance, as the magnificent thermæ, amphitheatres, and other colossal buildings had always greater charms than the gymnasia for the Romans.

RELATION OF GYMNASTICS TO THE MEDICAL ART.

I. The games of the Greeks had an immediate influence upon the art of healing, because they considered gymnastics to be almost as necessary for the preservation of health as medicine is for the cure of diseases.[4] It was for this reason that the gymnasia were dedicated to Apollo, the god of physicians.[5] The directors of these establishments, as well as the persons employed under their orders, passed for physicians (as we have already remarked in the case of the aliptæ), and were called so, on account of the skill which long experience had given them. Two of these directors, Iccus of Tarentum, and Herodicus of Selymbria, are particularly worthy of mention for having contributed to unite more closely medicine and gymnastics.

II. Not long after Herodicus, we find Hippocrates[6] recommending several sorts of exercises upon proper occasions. Galen, subsequently following Hippocrates in this as closely as in other things, declares his opinion of the benefit of exercises in several places. His second book, "De sanitate tuenda," is wholly upon the use of the *strigil*, or the advantage of regular chafing. He has written also a little tract, Περὶ τοῦ διὰ Μικρὰς Σφαίρας γυμνασίου, wherein he recommends an exercise by which the body and mind are both at the same time affected. In another discourse he inveighs against the athletic and other violent practices of the gymnasium, but approves of the more moderate exercises as subservient to the ends of a physician, and consequently forming part of the medical art. The other Greek medical writers express a similar opinion.

III. The ancient physicians relied much on exercise in the cure of dropsy, whereas modern practitioners almost totally neglect it. The Romans, like the Greeks, placed great reliance upon exercise for the cure of diseases, and Asclepiades, who lived in the time of Pompey the Great, brought this mode of treatment into great re-

[1] *Cic. ad Att.*, i., 4; *c. Verr.*, iii., 5. [2] *Suet., Ner.*, 12. [3] *Herodian*, i., 12, 4.
[4] *Hippocrat., de Locis in homine*, vol. ii., p. 138, *ed. Kühn.*
[5] *Plut., Symp.*, viii., 4, 4. [6] *De Vict. Rat.*, iii., vol. i., p. 716.

pute. He called exercises the *common aids of physic*, and wrote a treatise on the subject, which is mentioned by Celsus.[1] He carried these notions so far, that he invented the *lecti pensiles*,[2] or hanging-beds, that the sick might be rocked asleep; which took so much at that time, that they came afterward to be made of silver, and were a great part of the luxury of the times.

Christmas 1852

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PHYSICIANS.

I. In Greece and Asia Minor physicians seem to have been held in high esteem; for, not to mention the apotheosis of Æsculapius, who was considered as the father of the healing art, there was a law at Athens that no female or slave should practice it.[3] As there were no hospitals among the ancients, the chief places of study for medical pupils were the Ἀσκληπιεῖα, or temples of Æsculapius, where the votive tablets furnished them with a collection of cases. The Asclepiadæ, or supposed descendants of Æsculapius, who were, in a manner, the hereditary physicians of Greece, were very strict in examining into the character and conduct of their pupils, and the famous Hippocratic oath (which, if not drawn up by Hippocrates himself, is certainly almost as ancient) forms one of the most curious medical monuments of antiquity.

II. It appears certain that a permission from the state to practice was always required, and even though no public examination took place, yet every one desirous of being allowed to practice must show that he had been the pupil of a medical man.[4] There were some physicians in the pay of the state, and the salary was sometimes considerable. Thus Democedes received in Ægina a talent per annum. The Athenians subsequently sent for him, and paid him one hundred minæ; and at last Polycrates of Samos obtained him at a salary of two talents.

III. Besides this public salary, they received a fee from the patient.[5] Sometimes the fee was paid in advance,[6] the reason for which occasionally was because the doctor had to provide the remedies at his own expense.[7] They were under the necessity of dispensing their drugs, since there were no druggists' shops where the prescriptions could be made up. The booths of the φαρμακοπῶλαι

1 *De Medic.*, ii., 14, p. 82. 2 *Plin., H. N.*, xxvi., 8. 3 *Hygin., fab.*, 274.
4 *Xen., Mem.*, iv., 2, 5. 5 *Aristot., de Repub.*, iii., 10.
6 *Ælian, V. H.*, xii., 1; *Achill. Tat.*, iv., 15. 7 *Plat., Polit.*, 298.

were quite a different matter. These people were nothing but quacks, who, among other things, vended medicines, though not prepared under the eye of a regular doctor, and adapted merely for common disorders. They also cried them about the streets.[1]

IV. The regular physician made up his own medicines, often mixing them with something sweet to remove the unpleasant taste.[2] Some patients called at his *ἰατρεῖον* (also termed *ἐργαστήριον*), others he visited at their own dwellings.[3] Such an *ἰατρεῖον* was at once a bathing establishment, apothecary's shop, and surgery. The most complete picture of such a shop is contained in a fragment of Aristophanes.[4] The assistants seem to have been partly slaves, and had principally to attend to those of their class. A very interesting passage about these slave-doctors is to be found in Plato,[5] whence it appears that they were not over-conscientious in their treatment of their patients.

V. Free men, on the contrary, had none but free men for their medical attendants, who proceeded to work in a very conscientious manner. It was a rule of Hippocrates that a physician should preserve a very becoming exterior, avoiding every thing likely to cause an unpleasant impression on the patient. The hair and beard were carefully trimmed, and his dress was even elegant.[6]

VI. The Greek physician was likewise a surgeon. In Plutarch,[7] a bold attempt is made at a section of the larynx, in the case of a man who had swallowed a fish bone. The patient, however, died. It has been usually asserted that the ancients considered it a *πρᾶγμα ἀνοσιώτατον* to dissect a human body. But instances do occur, if not for scientific purposes. Thus it is related that the Lacedæmonians, having made the hero Aristomenes prisoner, cut open his body to see whether it contained any thing extraordinary.[8]

VII. It was not till late that the science of healing became divided into separate branches, such as the arts of oculists, dentists, &c.[9] The Greek physicians had to encounter more obstacles than their brethren in modern times from the stupidity, suspicion, and insane superstition of their age. Such, for instance, was the belief that all the wells had been poisoned, when the plague was raging at Athens during the Peloponnesian war,[10] and which has found a remarkable parallel in modern times. Still more general was the

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1 *Lucian pro Merc. Cond.*, 7.
2 *Plut., de Educ. puer.*, 18; *Xen., Mem.*, iv., 2, 17.
3 *Plat., Leg.*, iv., 720.
4 *Pollux*, x., 46.
5 *Plat., Leg.*, iv., 720.
6 *Galen in Hippocr., Epid.*, xvii., 2.
7 *De tuend. san.*, 15.
8 *Steph. Byzant., s. v.* Ἀνδανία.
9 *Lucian, Lexiph.*, 4.
10 *Thucyd.*, ii., 48.

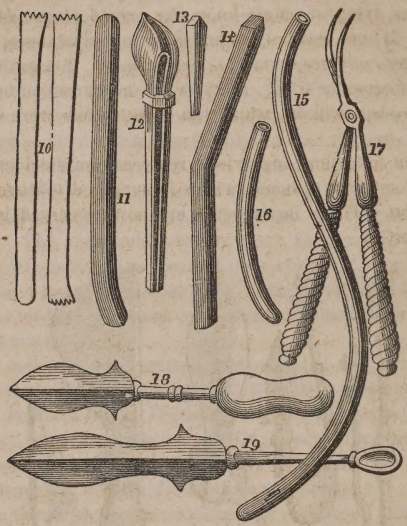
superstition that there were persons who, by all sorts of secret arts, incantations, tying of magic knots, &c., could plague others with diseases. It was natural, under these circumstances, that they should essay counter-charms (*ἀλεξιφάρμακα*)[1]. Sympathetic cures also were frequently tried. These were accompanied by songs or charms (*ἐπῳδαί*), without which the other means were considered useless.[2]

VIII. The following engravings represent surgical instruments found at Pompeii in a house which is supposed to have belonged to a surgeon. These instruments are now preserved in the museum at Portici.

The following description will explain their uses: 1, 2. Two probes (*μήλη, specillum*), made of iron; the larger six inches long, the smaller four and a half. 3. A cautery (*καυτήριον*), made of iron, rather more than four inches long. 4, 5. Two lancets (*σμίλη, scalpellum*), made of copper, the former two inches and a half long, the other three inches. It seems doubtful whether they were used for blood-letting or for opening abscesses, &c. 6. A knife, apparently made of copper, the blade of which is two inches and a half long, and in the broadest part one inch in breadth. The back is straight and thick, and the edge much curved. The handle is so short that it must probably have been broken. It is supposed to have been struck with a hammer, and thus used to amputate fingers, toes, &c. 7. Another knife, apparently made of copper, the blade of which is of a triangular shape, two inches long, and in the broadest part eight lines in breadth. The back is straight, and one line broad, and this breadth continues all the

[1] *Plat., Polit.*, ii., 80.

[2] *Id., Charm.*, p. 155; *Becker's Charicles*, p. 281, *seqq., Eng. transl.*



way to the point, which therefore is not sharp, but guarded by a sort of button. It was probably used for enlarging wounds, &c., for which it would be particularly fitted by its blunt point and broad back. 8. A needle, about three inches long, made of iron. 9. An elevator (or instrument for raising depressed portions of the skull), made of iron, five inches long, and very much resembling those made use of in the present day. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Different kinds of forceps. No. 10 has the two sides separated from each other, and is five inches long. No. 13 was used for pulling out hairs by the roots. 15. A male catheter, nine inches in length. The shape is remarkable, from its having the double curve like the letter S, which is the form that was re-invented in the last century by the celebrated French surgeon Petit. 16. Probably a female catheter, four inches in length. 17. An instrument used probably in amputating part of an enlarged uvula. 18, 19. Probably two spatulæ.[1]

[1] *Froriep, Notizen, &c.*, vol. ii., n. 26, p. 57; *Kühn, de Instrum., &c., Lips.*, 1823, 4to.

Dec. 27. 1859

CHAPTER XXXV.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES—TOMBS, &c.

I. The Greeks attached great importance to the burial of the dead. They believed that souls could not enter the Elysian fields till their bodies had been buried. So strong was this feeling among the Greeks, that it was considered a religious duty to throw earth upon a dead body which a person might happen to find unburied;[1] and among the Athenians those children who were released from all other obligations to unworthy parents, were nevertheless bound by one of Solon's laws to bury them.[2] The neglect of burying one's relatives is frequently mentioned by the orators as a grave charge against the moral character of a man,[3] since the burial of the body by the relations of the dead was considered a religious duty by the universal law of the Greeks. The common expressions for funeral rites, namely, *τὰ δίκαια*, *νόμιμα* or *νομιζόμενα*, *προσήκοντα*, show that the dead had, as it were, a legal and moral claim to burial.

II. We have already spoken of the funeral ceremonies in Homeric times; we will now proceed to give a brief sketch of those in later times. The general features of both were nearly the same.

III. After a person was dead, it was the custom first to place in his mouth an obolus, called *δανάκη*, with which he might pay the ferryman in Hades. The body was then washed, and anointed with perfumed oil, and the head was crowned with the flowers which happened to be in season. The deceased was next dressed in as handsome a robe as the family could afford, in order, according to Lucian, that he might not be cold on the passage to Hades, nor be seen naked by Cerberus; this garment appears to have been usually white.[4] These duties were performed, not by hired persons, like the *pollinctores* among the Romans, but by the women of the family, upon whom the care of the corpse always devolved.[5]

IV. The corpse was then laid out (*πρόθεσις*, *προτίθεσθαι*) on a bed (*κλίνη*), which appears to have been of the ordinary kind, with a pillow (*προσκεφάλαιον*) for supporting the head and back.[6] It is said that the bed on which the corpse was laid out was originally placed

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[1] *Ælian, V. H.*, vi., 14.
[2] *Æschin. c. Timarch.*, p. 40.
[3] *Dem. c. Aristog.*, i., p. 787, 2; *Lys. c. Phil.*, p. 883; *c. Alcib.*, p. 539.
[4] *Artemid., Oneiroc.*, ii., 3.
[5] *Isæus, de Philoct. hæred.*, p. 143.
[6] *Lys. c. Eratosth.*, p. 395.

outside the house,[1] but at Athens we know that it was placed inside, by one of Solon's laws.[2] The object of this formal *πρόθεσις* was, that it might be seen that the deceased had died naturally, and that no violence had been done to him.[3] Plato,[4] however, assigns another reason, namely, that there might be no doubt that the person was dead, and says that the body ought only to be kept in the house so long as it may be necessary to ascertain that fact.

V. By the side of the bed there were placed painted earthen vessels called *λήκυθοι*,[5] which were also buried with the corpse. Great numbers of these painted vases have been found in modern times; and they have been of great use in explaining many matters connected with antiquity. A honey-cake, called *μελιττοῦτα*, which appears to have been intended for Cerberus, was also placed by the side of the corpse.[6] Before the door a vessel of water was placed, called *ὄστρακον*, *ἀρδάλιον*, or *ἀρδάνιον*, in order that persons who had been in the house might purify themselves by sprinkling water on their persons.[7] The relatives stood around the bed, the women uttering great lamentations, rending their garments and tearing their hair.[8] Solon attempted to put a stop to this,[9] but his regulations on the subject do not appear to have been generally observed. It was the practice, at an earlier period, to sacrifice victims before carrying out the dead; but this custom was not observed in the time of Plato.[10] No females under sixty years of age were allowed to be present while the corpse was in the house.[11]

VI. On the day after the *πρόθεσις*, or the third day after death, the corpse was carried out (*ἐκφορά*, *ἐκκομιδή*) for burial, early in the morning and before sunrise, by a law of Solon, which law appears to have been revived by Demetrius Phalereus.[12] A burial soon after death was supposed to be pleasing to the dead.[13] In some places it appears to have been usual to bury the dead on the day following death.[14] The men walked before the corpse, and the women behind.[15] The funeral procession was preceded or followed by hired mourners (*ὀρηνῳδοί*), who appear to have been usually Carian women, though Plato speaks of men engaged in that office. They played mournful tunes on the flute.[16]

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[1] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Lysistr.*, 611. [2] *Dem. c. Macart.*, p. 1071.
[3] *Pollux*, viii., 65. [4] *Leg.*, xii., 9, p. 959. [5] *Aristoph., Eccl.*, 1032.
[6] *Aristoph., Lysistr.*, 601; *Schol. ad loc.* [7] *Aristoph., Eccl.*, 1033; *Pollux*, viii., 65.
[8] *Lucian, de Luct.*, c. 12. [9] *Plut., Sol.*, 12, 21. [10] *Min.*, p. 315.
[11] *Dem. c. Macart.*, p. 1071. [12] *Dem., l. c.*; *Cic., de Leg.*, ii., 26.
[13] *Hom., Il.*, xxiii., 71; *Xen., Mem.*, i., 2, 53.
[14] *Callim., Epigr.*, 15; *Diog. Laert.*, i., 122.
[15] *Dem., l. c.* [16] *Plat., Leg.*, vii., 9, p. 800; *Pollux*, iv., 75.

VII. The body was either buried or burned. Lucian says that the Greeks burned and the Persians buried their dead; but modern writers are greatly divided in opinion as to which was the usual practice. In Homer's days the custom of burning appears to have been the more prevalent one, but interment was also used. In historical times, on the other hand, both burning and burying were employed, with a preponderance perhaps in favor of the latter, though this can by no means be stated positively. We find Socrates speaking of his body being either burned or buried.[1] The body of Timoleon was burned,[2] and so was that of Philopœmen.[3] The word θάπτειν is used in connection with either mode; it is applied to the collection of the ashes after burning, and accordingly we find the words καίειν and θάπτειν used together.[4] The proper expression for interment in the earth is κατορύττειν. Cicero[5] says that the dead were buried at Athens in the time of Cecrops; and we also read of the bones of Orestes being found in a coffin at Tegea.[6] The dead were commonly buried among the Spartans[7] and the Sicyonians,[8] and the prevalence of this practice is proved by the great number of skeletons found in coffins in modern times, which have evidently not been exposed to the action of fire. The spread of Christianity eventually put an end to the practice of burning the corpse.

VIII. The dead bodies were usually burned on piles of wood, called πυραί. The body was placed on the top; and in the Heroic times, as we have before remarked, it was customary to burn with the corpse animals, and even captives and slaves. When the pyre was burned down, the bones were collected, as in Homeric times, by the relatives and friends, and placed in urns. These urns were made of marble, porphyry, baked clay, bronze, &c., of all forms and sizes, some quite simple, and others sculptured in bas-relief, or ornamented in an endless variety of ways.

IX. The corpses, which were not burned, were buried in coffins, which were called by various names, as σοροί, πύελοι, ληνοί, λάρνακες, δροῖται, though some of these names are also applied to the urns in which the bones were collected. They were made of various materials, but were usually of baked clay or earthen-ware Their forms are very various. The following wood-cut represents two of the most ancient kind. The figure in the middle is the section of one.

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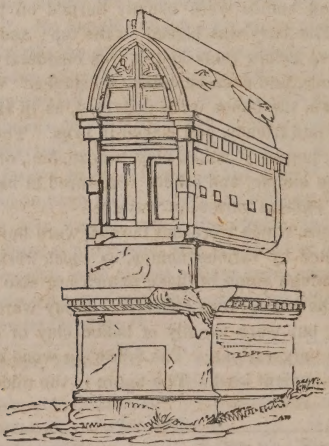
1 *Plat., Phæd.*, p. 115.
2 *Plut., Timol.*, 39.
3 *Id., Philop.*, 21.
4 *Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom.*, v., 48.
5 *De Leg.*, ii., 25.
6 *Herod.*, i., 68. Compare *Plut., Sol.*, 10.
7 *Plut., Lyc.*, 27.
8 *Paus.*, ii., 7, 3.

X. The dead were usually buried outside the town, as it was thought that their presence in the city brought pollution to the living. At Athens, the dead were, at an early period, buried in their own houses,[1] but in historical times none were allowed to be buried within the city.[2] Lycurgus, in order to remove all superstition respecting the presence of the dead, allowed of burial in Sparta;[3] and at Megara, also, the dead were buried within the town.[4] Persons who possessed lands in Attica were frequently buried in them, and we therefore read of tombs in the fields.[5] Tombs, however, were most frequently built by the side of roads and near the gates of the city. Thus the tomb of Thucydides was near the Melitian gate.[6] But the most common place of burial was outside of the Itonian gate, near the road leading to the Piræeus, which gate was for that reason called the burial gate. Those who had fallen in battle were buried at the public expense in the outer Ceramicus, on the road leading to the Academia.[7]

XI. The tombs were regarded as private property, and belonged



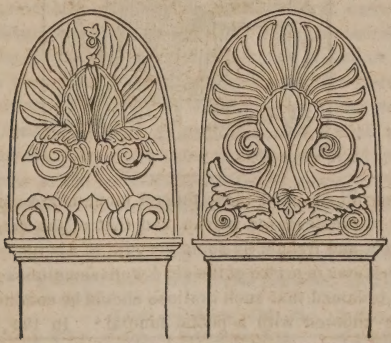
[1] *Plat., Min., l. c.* [2] *Cic. ad Fam.*, iv., 2, 3. [3] *Plut., Lyc.*, 27.
[4] *Paus.*, i., 43, 2. [5] *Dem. c. Euerg.*, p. 1159. [6] *Paus.*, i., 23, 11.
[7] *Thucyd.*, ii., 34; *Paus.*, i., 29, 4.

exclusively to the families whose relatives had been buried in them.[1] Tombs were called *θῆκαι*, *τάφοι*, *μνήματα*, *μνημεῖα*, *σήματα*. Many of these were only mounds of earth or stones (*χώματα*, *κολῶναι*, *τύμβοι*). Others were built of stone, and frequently ornamented with great taste. Some of the most remarkable Greek tombs are those which have been discovered in Lycia by Sir C. Fellows. The preceding wood-cut will give an idea of their general appearance.

XII. Some Greek tombs were built under ground, and called *hypogēa* (*ὑπόγαια* or *ὑπόγεια*). They correspond to the Roman *conditoria*.

XIII. At Athens the dead appear to have been usually buried in the earth; and originally the place of their interment was not marked by any monument.[2] Afterward, however, so much expense was incurred in the erection of monuments to the deceased, that it was provided by one of Solon's laws that no one should erect a monument which could not be completed by ten men in the course of three days.[3] This law, however, does not seem to have been strictly observed. Demetrius Phalereus also attempted to put a stop to this expense by forbidding the erection of any funeral monument more than three cubits in height.[4]

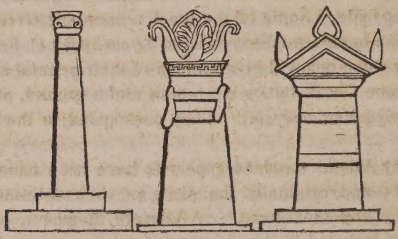
XIV. The monuments erected over the graves of persons were usually of four kinds: 1. *στῆλαι*, pillars, or upright stone tablets. 2. *κίονες*, columns. 3. *ναΐδια* or *ἡρῷα*, small buildings in the form of temples. 4. *τράπεζαι*, flat square stones, called by Cicero *mensæ*. The term *στῆλαι* is sometimes applied to all kinds of funeral monuments, but properly designates upright stone tablets, which were usually terminated with an oval heading, called *ἐπίθημα*. These



[1] *Dem. c. Eubul.*, p. 1307. [2] *Cic., de Leg.*, ii., 25. [3] *Id.*, ii., 26. [4] *Id., l. c.*

ἐπιθήματα were frequently ornamented with a kind of arabesque work, as in the two preceding specimens.

XV. The κίονες, or columns, were of various forms. The following wood-cut gives three different specimens:



The following example of an ἡρῷον will give a general idea of monuments of this kind:

The inscriptions upon these funeral monuments usually contain the name of the deceased person, and that of the demus to which he belonged, and frequently some account of his life.

XVI. Orations in praise of the dead were sometimes pronounced; but Solon ordained that such orations should be confined to persons who were honored with a public funeral.[1] In the Heroic ages

[1] *Cic., de Leg.*, ii., 26.

games were celebrated at the funeral of a distinguished individual, as we have already remarked; but this practice does not seem to have been usual in historic times.

XVII. After the funeral was over, the relatives partook of a feast, which was called *περίδειπνον* or *νεκρόδειπνον*.[1] This feast was always given at the house of the nearest relative of the deceased. Thus the relatives of those who had fallen at the battle of Chæronea partook of the *περίδειπνον* at the house of Demosthenes, as if he were the nearest relative to them all.[2] These feasts are frequently represented on funeral monuments. In one corner a horse's head is usually placed, which was intended to represent death as a journey. The following wood-cut represents a *περίδειπνον*:

XVIII. On the second day after the funeral a sacrifice to the dead was offered, called *τρίτα*. Pollux enumerates in order all the sacrifices and ceremonies which followed the funeral, namely, *τρίτα*, *ἔννατα*, *τριακάδες*, *ἐναγίσματα*, *χοαί*.[3] The principal sacrifice, however, to the dead, was on the ninth day, called *ἔννατα* or *ἔνατα*, as above.[4] The mourning for the dead appears to have lasted till the thirtieth day after the funeral,[5] on which day sacrifices were again offered. At Sparta the time of mourning was limited to eleven days.[6] During the time of mourning it was considered indecorous for the relatives of the deceased to appear in public.[7] They were accustomed to wear a black dress, and in early times cut off their hair as a sign of grief.

XIX. The tombs were preserved by the family to which they belonged with the greatest care, and were regarded as among the

[1] *Cic., l. c.* [2] *Dem. pro Coron.*, p. 321, 15. [3] *Pollux*, viii., 146.
[4] *Æschin. c. Ctes.*, p. 617. [5] *Lys., de Cæd. Erat.*, p. 16. [6] *Plut., Lyc.*, 27.
[7] *Æschin. c. Ctes.*, p. 468, *seqq.*

strongest ties which attached a man to his native land.[1] In the Dokimasia of the Athenian archons it was always a subject of inquiry whether they had kept in proper repair the tombs of their ancestors.[2] On certain days the tombs were crowned with flowers and various other things.[3] The act of offering these presents was called *ἐναγίζειν*, and the offerings themselves *ἐναγίσματα*, or, more commonly, *χοαί*. Such offerings at the tombs are represented upon many *λήκυθοι*, or painted vases.

XX. Certain criminals, who were put to death by the state, were deprived of the rights of burial, which was considered as an additional punishment. There were places both at Athens and Sparta where the dead bodies of such criminals were cast.[4] A person who had committed suicide was not deprived of burial, but the hand with which he had killed himself was cut off and buried by itself.[5] The bodies of those persons who had been struck by lightning were regarded as sacred (*ἱεροὶ νεκροί*); they were never buried with others,[6] but usually on the spot where they had been struck.[7]

Dec. 29. 1852.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MARRIAGES.

I. The choice of a wife among the ancients was but rarely grounded upon affection, and scarcely ever could have been the result of previous acquaintance or familiarity. In many cases a father chose for his son a bride whom the latter had never seen, or compelled him to marry for the sake of checking his extravagances.[8] Nor was the consent of a female to a match proposed for her generally thought necessary: she was obliged to submit to the wishes of her parents, and receive from them, it might be a stranger, for her husband and lord. The result of marriages contracted in this way would naturally be a want of confidence and mutual understanding between husband and wife, until they became better acquainted with, and accustomed to each other. Xenophon[9] illustrates this with much *naïveté* in the person of Ischomachus, who says of his newly-married wife: "When at last she was manageable (*χειροήθης*), and getting tame, so that I could talk with her, I asked her," &c.

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1 *Æschyl., Pers.*, 405; *Lycurg. c. Leocr.*, p. 141.
2 *Xen., Mem.*, ii., 2, 13.
3 *Æschyl., l. c.*; *Chöeph.*, 86.
4 *Plut., Them.*, 22; *Thucyd.*, i., 134.
5 *Æschin. c. Ctes.*, p. 636, *seqq.*
6 *Eurip., Suppl.*, 935.
7 *Artemid., Oneirocrit.*, ii., 9, p. 146.
8 *Ter., Andr.*, i., 5, &c.
9 *Œcon.*, 7, 10.

II. By the Athenian laws a citizen was not allowed to marry with a foreign woman, nor conversely, under very severe penalties. This part of our subject, however, as well as the laws respecting heiresses and betrothal, have already been considered.[1]

III. Particular days and seasons of the year were thought auspicious and favorable for marriage among the Greeks. Aristotle[2] speaks of the winter generally as being so considered, and at Athens the month Γαμηλιών, partly corresponding to our January and partly to February, received its name from marriages (γάμοι) being frequently celebrated in it. Hesiod[3] recommends marrying on the fourth day of the month, but whether he means the fourth from the beginning or end of the month is doubtful. Euripides[4] speaks as if the time of the full moon were thought favorable. That this prepossession, however, was not general and permanent, appears from Proclus,[5] who informs us that the Athenians selected for marriages the times of new moon (τὰς πρὸς σύνοδον ἡμέρας), *i. e.*, when the sun and moon were in conjunction. There was also some difference of opinion about the proper age for marrying; but, generally speaking, men were expected to marry between thirty and thirty-five, and women about twenty, or rather before.[6]

IV. Several ceremonies were observed either on or immediately before the day of marriage. The first of these were the προτέλεια γάμων or προγάμεια,[7] and consisted of sacrifices or offerings made to the Θεοὶ γαμήλιοι, or divinities who presided over marriage. They are generally supposed to have been made on the day before the γάμος or marriage; but there is a passage in Euripides[8] which makes it probable that this was not always the case. The sacrificer was the father of the bride elect; the divinities, to whom the offering was made, were, according to Pollux,[9] Juno and Diana, and the Fates, to whom the brides elect then dedicated the ἀπαρχαί of their hair. The offerings to Diana were probably made with a view of propitiating her, as she was supposed to be averse to marriage.

V. Another ceremony of almost general observance on the wedding-day was the bathing of both the bride and bridegroom in water fetched from some particular fountain, whence, as some think, the custom of placing the figure of a λουτροφόρος, or water-carrier, over the tombs of those who died unmarried. At Athens the water was brought from the fountain Callirrhoë, at the foot of the Acropolis.[10]

1 Page 207, *seqq.*
2 *Polit.*, vii., 15.
3 *Op. et D.*, 800.
4 *Iph. in Aul.*, 707.
5 *Ad Hes., Op. et D.*, 782.
6 *Plat., Leg.*, vi., p. 785
7 *Pollux*, iii., 38.
8 *Iph. in Aul.*, 642.
9 *Pollux*, iii., 381.
10 *Thucyd.*, ii., 15.

After these preliminaries the bride was generally conducted from her father's house to that of the bridegroom in a chariot (ἐφ' ἁμάξης) drawn by a pair of mules or oxen, and furnished with a κλινίς, or kind of couch, as a seat. On either side of her sat the bridegroom and one of his most intimate friends or relations, who, from his office, was called παράνυμφος or νυμφευτής; but, as he rode in the carriage (ὄχημα) with the bride and bridegroom, he was sometimes called the πάροχος.[1]

VI. The nuptial procession was probably accompanied, according to circumstances, by a number of persons, some of whom carried the nuptial torches,[2] and in some places, as in Bœotia, it was customary to burn the axle of the carriage on its arrival at the bridegroom's house, as a symbol that the bride was to remain at home and not go abroad.[3] If the bridegroom had been married before, the bride was not conducted to his house by himself, but by one of his friends, who was therefore called νυμφαγωγός.[4]

VII. Both bride and bridegroom (the former veiled) were, of course, decked out in their best attire, with chaplets on their heads,[5] and the doors of the houses were hung with festoons of ivy and bay.[6] As the bridal procession moved along, the Hymenean song was sung to the accompaniment of Lydian flutes, even in olden times, as beautifully described by Homer,[7] and the married pair received the greetings and congratulations of those who met them.[8] After entering the bridegroom's house, into which the bride was probably conducted by his mother bearing a lighted torch,[9] it was customary to shower sweetmeats upon them as emblems of plenty and prosperity.[10]

VIII. After this came the γάμος, or nuptial feast, the θοινὴ γαμική, which was generally given in the house of the bridegroom or his parents; and, besides being a festive meeting, served other and more important purposes. There was no public right, whether civil or religious, connected with the celebration of marriage among the ancient Greeks, and therefore no public record of its solemnization. This deficiency, then, was supplied by the marriage feast; for the guests were, of course, competent to prove the fact of a marriage having taken place; and Demosthenes indeed says they were invited partly with such views.[11] To this feast, contrary to the usual practice among the Greeks, women were invited as well as men.

[1] *Harpocrat., s. v.*
[2] *Aristoph., Pax*, 1318.
[3] *Plut., Quæst. Rom.*, p. 111.
[4] *Hesych., s. v.*; *Pollux*, iii., 40.
[5] *Becker, Charicles*, vol. ii., p. 467.
[6] *Plut., Amat.*, 10, p. 27.
[7] *Il.*, xviii., 490. Compare *Hesych., Scut.*, 273.
[8] *Aristoph., Pax*, 1316.
[9] *Eurip., Phœn.*, 311.
[10] *Schol. ad Aristoph., Plut.*, 768.
[11] *Dem. c. Onet.*, p. 869.

but they seem to have sat at a separate table, with the bride still veiled among them.[1] At the conclusion of this feast she was conducted by her husband into the bridal chamber; and a law of Solon[2] required that, on entering it, they should eat a quince together, as if to indicate that their conversation ought to be sweet and agreeable. The song called *Epithalamium* (ἐπιθαλάμιον, sc. μέλος) was then sung before the doors of the bridal chamber.

IX. The day after the marriage, the first of the bride's residence in her new abode, was called the ἐπαύλια, on which their friends sent the customary presents to the newly-married couple. On another day, the ἀπαύλια, perhaps the second after marriage, the bridegroom left his house to lodge apart from his wife at his father's-in-law, and the bride presented him with a garment called ἀπαυλιστηρία, in connection with which Pollux observes that the gifts made to the bride after her marriage were called ἀπαύλια. Some of the presents made to the bride by her husband and friends were called ἀνακαλυπτήρια, as being given on the occasion of the bride's first appearing unveiled:[3] they were probably given on the ἐπαύλια, or day after the marriage.

X. Another ceremony observed after marriage was the sacrifice which the husband offered up on the occasion of his bride's being registered among his own phratores.[4]

XI. The duties of a good housewife are summed up by Plato[5] under the heads of ταμιεία, θεραπεία, and παιδοτροφία. The first of these included the domestic arrangements of the house, and superintendence of the furniture, provisions, cookery, and servants; in fact, every thing that came under the name of housekeeping.[6] But a trust of this kind was not reposed in a young wife till she had gained some experience; for what, says Xenophon,[7] could a wife, married at fifteen, be likely to know, who had lived in complete seclusion, and had only been taught by her mother to conduct herself virtuously (σωφρονεῖν)? The θεραπεία included the attendance upon the sick inmates of the house, whether free or slaves.[8] The παιδοτροφία was the physical education of the children, on which Plutarch observes[9] that mothers ought themselves to nurture and suckle their children, though frequently female citizens were hired as wet nurses.[10]

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1 *Lucian, Conviv.*, 8; *Athen.*, xiv., p. 644.
2 *Plut., Solon*, c. 20.
3 *Harpocrat., s. v.* ἀνακαλυπτήρια.
4 *Demosth. c. Eubul.*, p. 1312, 1320.
5 *Leg.*, vii., p. 805.
6 *Becker, Charicles*, vol. ii., p. 476.
7 *Œcon.*, vii., 4.
8 *Xen., Œcon.*, vii., 37.
9 *De Educat. Puer.*, 5, p. 9.
10 *Demosth. c. Eubul.*, p. 1309.

XII. The consideration in which women were held by their husbands, and the respect paid to them in ancient Greece, would naturally depend, in some degree, on their intellectual and moral character; but, generally speaking, the Greeks entertained comparatively little regard for the female character. They considered women, in fact, as decidedly inferior to men, qualified to discharge only the subordinate functions in life, and rather necessary as helpmates than agreeable as companions. To these notions female education for the most part corresponded, and, in fact, confirmed them; it did not supply the elegant accomplishments and refinement of manners which permanently engage the affections, when other attractions have passed away. Aristotle states that the relation of man to women is that of the governor to the subject;[1] and Plato,[2] that a woman's excellence may be summed up in a few words, for she has only to manage the house well, keeping what there is in it, and obeying her husband. It may be important to remark, that Athenians, in speaking of their wives and children, generally said *τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας*, putting their wives last; a phrase which indicates very clearly what was the tone of feeling on this subject.

XIII. Moreover, before marriage, Grecian women were kept in a state of confinement which amounted to little short of a deprivation of liberty; nor was it thought becoming in them to be seen in public, except on some particular occasions, when they appeared as spectators of, or participators in, religious processions. Even after marriage, the restrictions imposed upon young women of the middle and higher classes were of a very jealous and almost Oriental character. They occupied, as we have already remarked, a separate part of the house, and in the absence of their husband it was thought highly improper for a man even to enter where they were.[3] From various passages of the Attic comedians it would also seem that married women were required to keep at home (*οἰκουρεῖν*), and were not allowed to go out of doors without the permission of their husbands. Again, on occasions of great public alarm (as, for example, when the news of the defeat at Chæronea reached Athens), the women are spoken of, not as leaving their houses, but as standing at their doors, and inquiring after the fate of their husbands, a circumstance which is described as being discreditable to themselves and the city.[4] Plutarch[5] informs us, that one of Solon's laws specified the conditions and occasions upon which women were to be allowed to leave their houses; and in later times there were magistrates at Athens

[1] *De Rep.*, i., 2. [2] *Meno*, p. 71. [3] *Demosth. c. Euerg.*, p. 1157.
[4] *Lycurg. c. Leocr.*, p. 53, *Bek.* [5] *Vit. Sol.*, 21.

(the *γυναικονόμοι*) charged, as their name denotes, with the superintendence of the behavior of women.

XIV. The description just given of the social condition and estimation of women in Greece does not apply, however, to the Heroic times as portrayed by Homer, nor to the Dorian state of Sparta. The women of the Homeric times, as we have before remarked, enjoyed much more freedom and consideration than those of later ages, and the connection between the sexes was then of a more generous and affectionate character than afterward. Among the Dorians also generally, and the Spartans especially, the domestic relation of the wife to the husband formed a striking contrast to the habits of the Ionian Athenians.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

BATHS.

I. The Lacedæmonians, who considered warm water as enervating and effeminate, used two kinds of baths, namely, the cold daily bath in the Eurotas,[1] and a dry sudorific bath in a chamber heated with warm air by means of a stove, and from them the chamber used by the Romans for a similar purpose was termed *Laconicum*.[2]

II. At Athens the frequent use of the public baths was regarded in the time of Socrates and Demosthenes as a mark of luxury and effeminacy.[3] Accordingly, Phocion was said to have never bathed in a public bath,[4] and Socrates to have made use of it very seldom.[5] It was, however, only the warm baths (*βαλανεῖα*, called by Homer *θερμὰ λουτρά*) to which objection was made, and which, in ancient times, were not allowed to be built within the city.[6]

III. The baths (*βαλανεῖα*) were either public (*δημόσια, δημοσιεύοντα*) or private (*ἴδια, ἰδιωτικά*). The former were the property of the state, but the latter were built by private individuals, and were opened to the public on the payment of a fee (*ἐπίλουτρον*). Such private baths are mentioned by Plutarch[7] and Isæus,[8] the latter of whom speaks of one which was sold for three thousand drachmæ.[9] Baths of this kind may have been intended also sometimes for the exclusive use of the persons to whom they belonged.[10] A small

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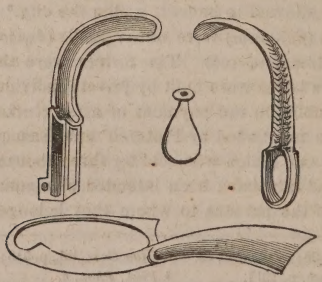
1 *Xen., Hell.*, v., 4, 28; *Plut., Alc.*, 23.
2 *Dion Cass.*, liii., p. 515; *Strab.*, iii., p. 413.
3 *Demosth. c. Polycl.*, p. 1217.
4 *Plut., Phoc.*, 4.
5 *Plat., Symp.*, p. 174.
6 *Athen.*, i., p. 18, *b*.
7 *Demetr.*, 24.
8 *De Dicæog. hæred.*, p. 101.
9 *De Philoct. hæred.*, p. 140.
10 *Xen., Rep. Ath.*, ii., 10.

fee appears to have been also paid by each person to the keeper of the public baths (*βαλανεύς*), which, in the time of Lucian, was two oboli.[1]

IV. We know very little of the baths of the Athenians during the republican period, for the account of Lucian in his Hippias relates to baths constructed after the Roman model. On ancient vases, on which persons are represented bathing, we never find any thing corresponding to a modern bath, in which persons can stand or sit; but there is always a round or oval basin (*λουτήρ* or *λουτήριον*) resting on a stand (*ὑπόστατον*), by the side of which those who are bathing are represented standing undressed and washing themselves.

V. Besides the *λουτῆρες* and *λουτήρια* there were also the vessels for bathing, large enough for persons to sit in. These are called *ἀσάμινθοι* by Homer, and *πύελοι* by the later Greeks.[2] In the baths there was also a kind of sudorific or vapor bath, called *πυρία* or *πυριατήριον*, which is mentioned as early as the time of Herodotus.

VI. The persons who bathed probably brought with them strigils, oil, and towels. The strigil (*στλεγγίς*, *ξύστρα*) was used to scrape off the perspiration, much in the same way as we are accustomed to scrape off the sweat from a horse with a piece of iron hoop, after he has run a heat, or comes in from violent exercise. These instruments, some specimens of which are given in the wood-cut that follows, were made of bone, bronze, iron, or silver.[3] The poorer classes were obliged to scrape themselves, but the more wealthy took their slaves to the baths for that purpose. Into the handle of the strigil the hand could be inserted. The blade was curved and hollowed into a channel, down which the moisture and perspiration



[1] *Lucian, Lexiph.*, 2, vol. ii., p. 320, *ed. Hemst.*
[2] *Pollux*, vii., 166, 168.
[3] *Plut., Inst. Lac.*, 32; *Ælian, V. H.*, xii., 29.

would flow as in a gutter. The strigil was by no means a blunt instrument, consequently its edge was softened by the application of oil, which was dropped upon it from a small vessel, which had a narrow neck, so as to discharge its contents drop by drop. A representation of it is given in the cut. Invalids, and persons of a delicate habit, made use of sponges, which answered for towels as well as strigils.

VII. The Greeks also used different materials for cleansing or washing themselves in the bath, to which the general name of *ῥύμμα* was given, and which were supplied by the *βαλανεύς*.[1] This *ῥύμμα* usually consisted of a ley made of lime or wood ashes (*κονία*), of nitrum, and of fuller's earth (*γῆ κιμωλία*).[2]

VIII. The bath was generally taken shortly before the *δεῖπνον*, or principal meal of the day. It was the practice to take first a warm or vapor bath, and afterward a cold bath;[3] though in the time of Homer the cold bath appears to have been taken first, and the warm afterward. The cold water was usually poured on the back or shoulders of the bathers by the *βαλανεύς* or his assistants, who are called *παραχύται*.[4] The vessel from which the water was poured was called *ἀρύταινα*.[5]

IX. Among the Greeks a person was always bathed at birth, marriage, and after death. The ceremonies in these cases have already been alluded to.

Jan. 3. 1853.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

AGORÆ, OR MARKET-PLACES.

I. The *ἀγορά* was the place of public assembly in a Greek city, both for traffic and for the transaction of all public business. In the earliest times, the agora was merely an open piece of ground, which was generally in front of the royal palace, and, in sea-port towns, close to the harbor. The agora of Troy was in the citadel. Here the chiefs met in council, and sat in judgment, and the people assembled to witness athletic games. It was evidently also the place of traffic and of general intercourse: in one passage of Homer we have a lively picture of the idlers who frequented it. It was inclosed with large stones sunk into the earth, and seats of marble

[1] *Aristoph., Lysistr.*, 377.
[2] *Id., Ran.*, 710; *Schol. ad loc.*
[3] *Plut., de Primo frig.*, 10; *Paus.*, ii., 34, 2.
[4] *Plat., Rep.*, i., p. 344.
[5] *Aristoph., Equit.*, 1087.

were placed in it for the chiefs to sit in judgment, and it was hallowed by the shrine of one or more divinities.[1]

II. Out of this simple arrangement arose the magnificent *ἀγοραί* of later times, which consisted of an open space, inclosed by porticoes or colonnades, divided into separate parts for the various occupations which were pursued in it, adorned with statues, altars, and temples, and built about with edifices for the transaction of public and private business, and for the administration of justice.

III. Originally the agora was also the market, and was surrounded with shops. As commerce increased, it was found convenient to separate the traffic from the other kinds of business carried on in the agora, and to assign to each its distinct place, though this was by no means universally the case. The market, whether identical with, or separate from the agora for political and other assemblies, was divided into parts for the different sorts of merchandise, each, of course, furnished with colonnades, which the climate rendered necessary, and partly with shops and stalls, partly with temporary booths of wicker-work. Each of these parts was called a *κύκλος*. The several divisions of the market were named according to the articles exposed for sale in them.

IV. The part in which fish and other delicacies for the table were exposed for sale was called *ἰχθῦς, ὄψον*, or *ἰχθυόπωλις ἀγορά*, and was the chief centre of business. It was open only for a limited time, the signal for commencing business being given by the sound of a bell, which was obeyed with an eagerness that is more than once pleasantly referred to by the ancient writers.[2] The coarseness and imposition of the fish-sellers, and the attempts of purchasers to beat them down, are frequently alluded to by the comic poets.[3] It is not quite clear whether meat, poultry, and so forth, were sold in the same place as the fish, or had a separate division of the market assigned them. Bread was partly sold in the assigned place in the market, which was, perhaps, the same as the meal-market (*τὰ ἄλφιτα*), and partly carried round for sale: the sellers were generally women, and were proverbially abusive.[4]

V. In another part of the market, called *μυρίναι*, were the women who sold garlands of myrtle and flowers for festivals and parties.[5] Near these probably were the sellers of ribbons and fillets for the

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[1] *Hom., Il.*, ii., 788; vii., 345; xviii., 497, *seqq.*

[2] *Plut., Sympos.*, iv., 4, 2; *Strab.*, xiv., p. 658.

[3] *Amphis ap. Athen.*, v., p. 224, *c.*; *Alexis, ibid.*; *Xenarch, ibid.*, &c.

[4] *Aristoph., Ran.*, 857; *Vesp.*, 1389.

[5] *Plut., Arat.*, 6; *Aristoph., Thesm.*, 448, 457.

head.[1] The wholesale traffic in wine, as distinct from the business of the κάπηλος, was carried on in the market, the wine being brought in from the country in carts, from which it was transferred to amphoræ; the process is represented in two pictures at Pompeii. One of these is given in following wood-cut:

VI. The market for pottery was called χύτραι, and must not be confounded with the place where cooks sat and offered themselves for hire, with their cooking utensils: this latter place was called μαγειρεῖα.[2] In short, every kind of necessary or luxury was exposed for sale in its assigned place. Thus we find, besides those already mentioned, the market for onions (τὰ κρόμυα), for garlic (τὰ σκόροδα), for nuts (τὰ κάρυα), for apples (τὰ μῆλα), for fresh cheese (ὁ χλωρὸς τυρός), for oil (τοὔλαιον), for perfumes and unguents (τὰ μύρα), for frankincense (ὁ λιβανωτός), for spices (τὰ ἀρώματα), for couches (αἱ κλῖναι), for new and old clothes, (ἀγορὰ ἱματιόπωλις or σπειρόπωλις), for books (βιβλιοθήκη), and for slaves (τὰ ἀνδράποδα). Lastly, a part of the market was devoted to money-changers (τραπεζῖται).

VII. Mention is sometimes made of the women's market (γυναικεία ἀγορά),[3] a term which has given rise to much doubt. The common explanation is, that it was the part of the market to which women resorted to purchase what they wanted for household uses. But it appears clearly that purchases were seldom made in the market by women, and never by free women. The only plausible explanation is, either that a distinct part of the market was assigned to those commodities, the sellers of which were women, such as

[1] *Demosth. in Eubul.*, p. 1308.
[2] *Pollux*, ix., 48.
[3] *Theophrast., Charact.*, 2; *Pollux*, x., 18.

the *ἀρτοπώλιδες*, *λεκιθοπώλιδες*, *ἰσχαδοπώλιδες*, *στεφανοπώλιδες*, and others, or also that the term was applied to that part of the market where articles for the use of women were sold. But the matter is altogether doubtful.

VIII. It is not to be supposed, however, that the sale of the various articles which we have enumerated, as well as others (for the list might be greatly extended), was confined to the market. Frequent mention is made of shops in other parts of the city, and some articles, such as salt fish, seem to have been sold outside the gates.

IX. The time during which the market was frequented was the forenoon; but it is difficult to determine precisely how much of the forenoon is denoted by the common phrases *πλήθουσα ἀγορά*, *περὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγοράν*, *πληθώρη ἀγορᾶς*.[1] Suidas explains *πλήθουσα ἀγορά* as *ὥρα τρίτη*, but elsewhere he says that it was either the fourth, or fifth, or sixth hour. We might infer that the whole period thus designated was from nine to twelve o'clock (equinoctial time); but Herodotus, in two passages[2] makes a distinction between *πλήθουσα ἀγορά* and *μεσημβρία*. The time of the conclusion of the market was called *ἀγορᾶς διάλυσις*.[3] During these hours the market was a place not only of traffic, but of general resort. Thus Socrates habitually frequented it as one of the places where he had the opportunity of conversing with the greatest number of persons.[4] It was also frequented in other parts of the day, especially in the evening, when many persons might have been seen walking about, or resting upon seats placed under the colonnades.[5] Even the shops themselves, not only those of the barbers, as we have before remarked, the perfumers, and the doctors, but even those of the leather-sellers and the harness-makers, were common places of resort for conversation; and it was even deemed discreditable to avoid them altogether.[6]

X. The persons who carried on traffic in the market were the country people (*ἀγοραῖοι*), who brought in their commodities into the city, and the retail dealers (*κάπηλοι*), who exposed the goods purchased of the former, or of producers of any kind (*αὐτοπῶλαι*), or of foreign merchants (*ἔμποροι*), for sale in the markets.[7] A certain degree of disgrace was attached to the occupation of a retail dealer, though at Athens there were positive enactments to the con-

[1] *Herod.*, ii., 173; vii., 223.
[2] *Id.*, iii., 104; iv., 181.
[3] *Id. ib.*; *Xen.*, *Œcon.*, xii., 1.
[4] *Xen.*, *Mem.*, i., 1, 10.
[5] *Demosth. in Con.*, p. 1258.
[6] *Aristoph.*, *Plut.*, 337; *Xen.*, *Mem.*, iv., 2, 1.
[7] *Plat.*, *de Republ.*, ii., p. 371; *Xen.*, *Mem.*, iii., 7, 6.

trary.[1] The wholesale dealers also sold their goods by means of a sample (*δεῖγμα*), either in the market, or in the place called *δεῖγμα*, attached to the port. The retail dealers either exposed the goods for sale in their shops, or hawked them about. The privilege of freely selling in the market belonged to the citizens: foreigners had to pay a toll.

XI. Most citizens either made their own purchases in the market,[2] or employed a slave, who was called from his office *ἀγοραστής*.[3] Sometimes female slaves performed this office;[4] but such an appearance in public was not permitted to any free woman of reputable character.[5] The philosopher Lynceus, of Samos, wrote a book for the guidance of purchasers in the market. It was esteemed disreputable for people to carry home their purchases from the markets, and there were, therefore, porters in attendance for that purpose, who were called *προῦνεικοι*, *παιδαρίωνες*, and *παιδῶνες*. The preservation of order in the market was the office of the agoranomi, of whom we have already spoken.

Jan. 4. 1653.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

1. *Weights.*

I. All the knowledge we have upon the subject goes to prove that in Greek and Roman metrical systems, *weights* preceded *measures*; that the latter were derived from the former; and both from a system which had prevailed from a period of unknown antiquity among the Chaldeans at Babylon. This system was introduced into Greece after the epoch of the Homeric poems; for of the two chief denominations used in the Greek system, namely, *τάλαντον* (*talentum*) and *μνᾶ* (*mina*), Homer uses only the former, which is a genuine Greek word, meaning *weight*, the other being an Oriental word of the same meaning nearly. Homer uses *τάλαντον*, like *μέτρον*, in a specific sense;[6] and, indeed, in all languages, the earliest words used for weight are merely generic terms specifically applied.

II. Hence the introduction of the foreign word *μνᾶ* by the side of the native word *τάλαντον* indicates the introduction of a new standard of weight, which new standard soon superseded the old, and

[1] *Andoc., de Myst.*, p. 68; *Aristot., de Republ.*, i., 10.
[2] *Æschin. c. Timarch.*, p. 87.
[3] *Xen., Mem.*, i., 5, 2.
[4] *Lysias, de Cæd. Eratosth.*, p. 18.
[5] *Machon. ap. Athen.*, xiii., p. 580.
[6] *Il.*, xxiii., 260, *seqq.*

then the old word τάλαντον was used as a denomination of weight in the new system, quite different from the weight which it signified before. This last point is manifest from the passages in Homer, in which the word is used in a specific sense, especially in the description of the funeral games, where the order of the prizes proves that the talent must have been a very much smaller weight than the later talent of sixty minæ, or about eighty-two pounds avoirdupois; and traces of this ancient small talent are still found at a very much later period. Hence we come to the conclusion that the Greek system of weight was post-Homeric.

III. Of course, by the *Greek System* here is meant the system which prevailed throughout Greece in the historical times, and which contained four principal denominations, which, though different at different times and places, and even at the same place for different substances, always bore the same relation to each other. These were the *Talent* (τάλαντον), which was the largest, then the *Mina* (μνᾶ), the *Drachma* (δραχμή), and the *Obol* (ὀβολός). The two latter terms are, in all probability, genuine Greek words, introduced for the purpose of making convenient subdivisions of the standard, δραχμή signifying a *handful*, and ὀβολός being perhaps the same as ὀβελός, and signifying an iron or copper spike or nail, so that these words, again, fall under the description of generic terms specifically applied.

IV. These weights were related to one another as follows:

1 *Talent* contained ..... 60 *Minæ*.
1 *Mina* " ..... 100 *Drachmæ*.
1 *Drachma* " ..... 6 *Obols*.

Their relative values are exhibited more fully in the following table:

Obol	Drachma	Mina	Talent.
6			
600	100		
36,000	6000	60	

2. *Measures.*

(A.) MEASURES OF LENGTH.

I. The first step in the construction of a metrical system is obviously that of fixing upon the unit of length; and nature herself suggests the choice, for this purpose, of some familiar object, of nearly uniform length, and which is constantly at hand to be referred to. These conditions are fulfilled by various parts of the

human body; from which, accordingly, we find that not only the unit of length, but all the measures of length, except those which are too small or too large to be measured by parts of the body, are derived in every metrical system, except the latest formed of all, the modern French system, which is founded on the measurement of the earth.

II. In support of the general statement here made, we have the testimony of all writers, the names of the measures themselves, and the general agreement of their lengths with the parts of the body the names of which they bear.[1] The chief of such measures, with their Greek and Roman names, are the following: the breadth of a *finger* (*δάκτυλος*, *digitus*) or *thumb* (*pollex*); the breadth of the *hand* or *palm* (*παλαιστή*, *palmus*); the *span*, that is, the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the little finger, when spread out as wide as possible (*σπιθαμή*); the length of the *foot* (*πούς*, *pes*); the *cubit*, or distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger (*πῆχυς*, *cubitus*); a *step* (*βῆμα*, *gradus*); a double step, or *pace* (*passus*); and the distance from extremity to extremity of the outstretched arms (*ὀργυιά*).

III. Pollux mentions, also, some less important measures; namely, the *δοχμή*, or *δακτυλοδόχμη*, or *δῶρον*, which was the same as the *παλαιστή*; the *ὀρθοδῶρον*, or the length of the whole hand from the wrist to the tip of the middle finger; the *λιχάς*, or distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the fore finger (*λιχανός*), when extended, the *lesser span;* the *πυγών* and *πυγμή* were modifications of the *πῆχυς*, the *πυγών* being the distance from the elbow to the fingers *when bent*, that is, to the knuckle joints; the *πυγμή* from the fingers when shut, that is, to the joints at their base. Other writers mention *κόνδυλος*, *knuckle*, as equal to two *δάκτυλοι*.

IV. The following system will be found to express very nearly the relations existing between the parts in a well-made man:

4 *digits*	make	----------	*a palm.*
3 *palms*	"	----------	*a span.*
4 *palms*	"	----------	*a foot.*
1½ *spans*	"	----------	*a foot.*
2 *spans*	"	----------	*a cubit.*
1½ *feet*	"	----------	*a cubit.*
2½ *feet*	"	----------	*a step.*
4 *cubits*	"	----------	*an ὀργυιά*, or *fathom.*
6 *feet*	"	----------	*an ὀργυιά*, or *fathom.*

V. It will be observed that, in the account here given, nothing has

[1] *Hom.*, *Il.*, vi., 319; xv., 678; *Od.*, xi., 310.

been said of the inch. It was not a measure derived from the human body, but a subdivision which the Romans made of their foot, as they were accustomed to divide any unit whatever, according to the analogy of the uncial division of the *As*.

(B.) ITINERARY MEASURES.

I. For the higher measures of length, although the continuity of the system was preserved by making them exact multiples of a foot, yet it is obvious that convenience would demand higher denominations, one of which would be regarded as a new unit. Nay, these higher measures may be viewed, with respect to their origin, as in some sense independent of those smaller measures with which they were afterward made to agree. For, just as we have seen that the smaller measures of length are taken from natural objects, so we shall find that at an early period the larger measures were not derived artificially from the smaller, but were taken from distances which occur in nature and in ordinary life. Thus Homer expresses distances by the cast of a stone,[1] of a quoit,[2] and of a spear,[3] and also by the still more indefinite description "as far as a man is heard clearly when he shouts."[4] Of still longer distances time was made the measure; the journey of a day, or of a day and night, on foot, with a horse, or with a ship; a system too frequently employed now, as well as in ancient times, to need the citation of examples for its illustration.

II. The chief Greek measure for itinerary distances was the *Stadium* (στάδιον or στάδιος). It was equal to six hundred Greek, or six hundred and twenty-five Roman feet, or to one hundred and twenty-five Roman paces, and the Roman mile contained eight stadia.[5] Hence the stadium contained six hundred and six feet nine inches English. This standard prevailed throughout Greece under the name of the Olympic stadium, because it was the exact length of the stadium or foot-race course at Olympia, measured between the pillars at the two extremities of the course. In mathematical geography, the ordinary computation was six hundred stadia to a degree of a great circle of the earth's surface.

(C.) LAND MEASURES.

I. Another distinct source of the greater measures of length is to be found in the necessity which arises, at an early period, in every civilized community, for determining the boundaries of land. Here,

[1] *Il.*, ii., 12. [2] *Id.*, xxxiii., 431. [3] *Id.*, x., 357.
[4] *Od.*, vi., 294. [5] *Herod.*, ii., 149; *Plin., H. N.*, ii., 23, 21.

too, as in the itinerary distances, the original unit of the system was probably not a specific number of feet, but some natural quantity, which was afterward brought into accordance with the standard of the smaller measures. It is also to be observed that these measures are, from the nature of the case, measures of surface, although, in practice, they were often used merely as measures of length. The precise fact seems to be that the first natural measure of the sort was one of a considerable length and a very moderate breadth; that then this measure came to be used as a measure of length alone; and then, for the measure of surface connected with it, they did not revert to the original narrow strip, but took the square of its length.

II. In the Greek system, the *πλέθρον*, as a measure of length, is one hundred feet, and as a measure of surface it is the square of one hundred, or ten thousand square feet. The *ἄρουρα* was the quarter of it, that is, two thousand five hundred square feet, or the square of fifty feet. A measuring rod of ten feet (*κάλαμος*) appears also in the Greek system, and of this the *πλέθρον* was the square. Also, six *κάλαμοι*, or ten *ὄργυιαι*, or forty *πήχεις*, made one *ἄμμα* or *chain*. This system was connected with the itinerary measures by reckoning six *plethra*, or one hundred *ὄργυιαι*, to the stadium.[1]

(D.) MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

I. The measures of capacity seem to have been arranged on a similar principle to those already noticed; that is, they were not derived by a definite process of calculation from the measures of length, but were originally nothing more than the names of different sized vessels of no very definite capacity, which, when the metrical system came to be definitively constituted, were brought into harmony, on the one hand with the measures of length, on the other with those of weight.

II. The measures for liquids were the following:

Μετρητής	= $\frac{3}{4}$	Μέδιμνος.
Χοῦς (*congius*)	= $\frac{1}{12}$	Μετρητής.
Ξέστης (*sextarius*)	= $\frac{1}{6}$	Χοῦς.
Κοτύλη (*hemina*)	= $\frac{1}{2}$	Ξέστης.
Τέταρτον	= $\frac{1}{2}$	Κοτύλη.
Ὀξύβαφον	= $\frac{1}{2}$	Τέταρτον.
Κύαθος	= $\frac{2}{3}$	Ὀξύβαφον.

[1] *Herod.*, ii., 149.

APPROXIMATE VALUE.

	Gallons.	Pints.
Μέδιμνος	=12.	
Μετρητής	= 9.	
Χοῦς	= "	6.
Ξέστης	= "	1.
Κοτύλη	= "	$\frac{1}{2}$.
Τέταρτον	= "	$\frac{1}{4}$.
Ὀξύβαφον	= "	$\frac{1}{8}$.
Κύαθος	= "	$\frac{1}{12}$.

As the *Sextarius*, or Ξέστης, differs from the English pint by only one twenty-fifth part of the latter, it will be found useful, in ordinary rough calculations, to take it at exactly a pint, and so with the other measures in the preceding table. The approximate values thus obtained, and which we have given above, may be corrected by subtracting from each of them its one twenty-fifth part.

III. The dry measures were the following:

Μέδιμνος.

Ἕκτος (*modius*)	= $\frac{1}{6}$ Μέδιμνος.
Ἡμίεκτον	= $\frac{1}{2}$ Ἕκτος.
Χοῖνιξ	= $\frac{1}{4}$ Ἡμίεκτον.
Ξέστης (*sextarius*)	= $\frac{1}{2}$ Χοῖνιξ.
Κοτύλη	= $\frac{1}{2}$ Ξέστης.
Κύαθος	= $\frac{1}{6}$ Κοτύλη.

APPROXIMATE VALUE.

	Gallons.	Pints.
Μέδιμνος	= 12.	
Ἕκτος	= 2.	
Ἡμίεκτον	= 1.	
Χοῖνιξ	= "	2.
Ξέστης	= "	1.
Κοτύλη	= "	$\frac{1}{2}$.
Κύαθος	= "	$\frac{1}{12}$.

The same remarks relative to these approximate values will apply here as were made with regard to the liquid measures. The *χοῖνιξ* is equal approximately to two pints or one quart. The *μέδιμνος* to twelve gallons, or one bushel and a half.

CHAPTER XL.

DIVISION OF TIME.

I. In the earliest times the division of the year into its various seasons appears to have been very simple and rude, and it would seem that there was no other division except that of summer (*θέρος*) and winter (*χειμών*). To these strongly-marked periods there were afterward added the periods of transition, namely, spring (*ἔαρ*) and autumn (*ὀπώρα*), with certain subdivisions according to the different agricultural pursuits peculiar to each of them. As, however, the seasons of the year were of great importance in regard to agriculture, it became necessary to fix their beginning and end by connecting them with the rising or setting of certain stars. Thus Hesiod[1] describes the time of the rising of the Pleiades as the time for harvesting (*ἄμητος*), and that of their setting as the time for ploughing (*ἄροτος*); the time at which Arcturus rose in the morning twilight as the proper season for the vintage,[2] and other phænomena in nature, such as the arrival of birds of passage, the blossoming of certain plants, and the like, indicated the proper seasons for other agricultural occupations; but, although they may have continued to be observed for centuries by simple rustics, they never acquired any importance in the scientific division of the year.

II. The moon being that heavenly body whose phases are most easily observed, formed the basis of the Greek calendar, and all the religious festivals were dependent upon it. The Greek year was a lunar year of twelve months; but, at the same time, the course of the sun was also taken into consideration, and the combination of the two[3] involved the Greeks in great difficulties, which rendered it almost impossible for them to place their chronology on a sure foundation.

III. The Greeks, as early as the time of Homer, appear to have been perfectly familiar with the division of the year into twelve lunar months, but no intercalary month (*μὴν ἐμβόλιμος*) or day is mentioned. Independently of the division of a month into days, it was divided into periods according to the increase and decrease of the moon. Thus the first day or new moon was called *νουμηνία*. The period from the *νουμηνία* until the moon was full was expressed by *μηνὸς ἰσταμένου*, and the latter part, during which the moon

[1] *Op. et D.*, 381. [2] *Ib.*, 607. [3] *Gemin., Isag.*, 6. Comp. *Cic. in Verr.*, ii., 52.

decreased, by *μηνὸς φθίνοντος*. The 30th day of a month, *i. e.*, the day of the conjunction, was called *τριακάς*, or, according to a regulation of Solon, *ἕνη καὶ νέα*, because one part of that day belonged to the expiring, and the other to the commencing month. The day of the full moon, or the middle of the month, is sometimes designated by *διχόμηνις*.

IV. The Attic year began with the summer solstice. The months, which, in the time of Hesiod, had been reckoned at thirty days, afterward contained alternately thirty days and twenty-nine days. Those containing thirty days were called full months (*πλῆρεις*), and those having twenty-nine days were termed hollow months (*κοῖλοι*).

V. Each month was divided into three decads, namely, from the 1st to the 10th, from the 10th to the 20th, and from the 20th to the 29th or 30th. The first day of a month, or the day after the conjunction, was termed *νουμηνία*, and as the first decad was designated as *ἱσταμένου μηνός*, the days following after the first were regularly counted as *δευτέρα, τρίτη, τετάρτη*, &c., *μηνὸς ἱσταμένου*. The days of the second decad were indicated by the ordinal numbers *πρώτη, δευτέρα, τρίτη*, &c., placed before *μεσοῦντος μηνὸς* ("the middle of the month"), or before *ἐπὶ δέκα* ("in addition to ten"). Thus the tenth day was called *πρώτη μηνὸς μεσοῦντος*, or *πρώτη ἐπὶ δέκα*; the eleventh, *δευτέρα μηνὸς μεσοῦντος*, or *δευτέρα ἐπὶ δέκα*, &c. The twentieth day itself was called *εἰκάς*, and the days from the 20th to the 30th were counted in two different ways, namely, either onward, as *πρώτη, δευτέρα, τρίτη*, &c., *ἐπὶ εἰκάδι* ("after the twentieth"), or backward from the last day of the month, with the addition of *μηνὸς φθίνοντος, παυομένου, λήγοντος*, or *ἀπιόντος*; as *ἐννάτη* (or *δεκάτη*, according as the month was hollow or full), *ὀγδόη, ἑβδόμη*, &c., *μηνὸς φθίνοντος*, &c. The mode of counting backward seems to have been more commonly employed than the other.

VI. With regard to the hollow months, it must be observed, that the Athenians, generally speaking, counted twenty-nine days, but in the month Boedromion they counted thirty, leaving out the second, because on that day Minerva and Neptune were believed to have disputed about the possession of Attica.[1]

VII. The following table shows the succession of the Attic months, the number of days they contained, and the corresponding months of our year:

Ἑκατομβαιών,	containing 30 days	}	
Μεταγειτνιών,	" 29 "	}	Summer months.
Βοηδρομιών,	" 30 "	}	

[1] *Plut., de Frat. Am.*, p. 489; *Sympos.*, ix., 7.

Πυανεψιών,	containing 29 days	}	Autumn months.
Μαιμακτηριών,	" 30 "		
Ποσειδεών,	" 29 "		
Γαμηλιών,	" 30 "	}	Winter months.
'Ανθεστηριών,	" 29 "		
'Ελαφηβολιών,	" 30 "		
Μουνυχιών,	" 29 "	}	Spring months.
Θαργηλιών,	" 30 "		
Σκιρροφοριών,	" 29 "		

'Εκατομβαιών, answering to last half of *July* and first half of *Aug.*

Μεταγειτνιών,	"	"	"	*Aug.*	"	"	"	*Sept.*
Βοηδρομιών,	"	"	"	*Sept.*	"	"	"	*Oct.*
Πυανεψιών,	"	"	"	*Oct.*	"	"	"	*Nov.*
Μαιμακτηριών,	"	"	"	*Nov.*	"	"	"	*Dec.*
Ποσειδεών,	"	"	"	*Dec.*	"	"	"	*Jan.*
Γαμηλιών,	"	"	"	*Jan.*	"	"	"	*Feb.*
'Ανθεστηριών,	"	"	"	*Feb.*	"	"	"	*March.*
'Ελαφηβολιών,	"	"	"	*March*	"	"	"	*April.*
Μουνυχιών,	"	"	"	*April*	"	"	"	*May.*
Θαργηλιών,	"	"	"	*May*	"	"	"	*June.*
Σκιρροφοριών,	"	"	"	*June*	"	"	"	*July.*

Jan. 6. 1859.

CHAPTER XLI.

THEATRE—THEATRICAL EXHIBITIONS.

I. The Athenians, before the time of Æschylus, had only a wooden scaffolding on which their dramas were performed. Such a wooden theatre was only erected for the time of the Dionysiac festivals, and was pulled down after they were ended. The first drama that Æschylus brought upon the stage was performed upon such a wooden scaffolding, and it is recorded as a singular and ominous coincidence, that on that occasion (500 B.C.) the scaffolding broke down. To prevent the recurrence of such an accident, the building of a stone theatre was forthwith commenced on the southeastern descent of the Acropolis, in the Lenæa; for it should be observed, that throughout Greece theatres were always built upon eminences, or on the sloping side of a hill. The new Athenian theatre was built on a very large scale, and appears to have been constructed with great skill in regard to its acoustic and perspective arrangements, but the name of the architect is not known.

II. It is highly probable that dramas were performed in this new

theatre as soon as it was practicable, and before it was completely finished, which did not take place until about B.C. 340. During this long interval of forty Olympiads, theatres were erected in all parts of Greece and Asia Minor, although Athens was the centre of the Greek drama, and the only place which produced great masterworks in this department of literature.

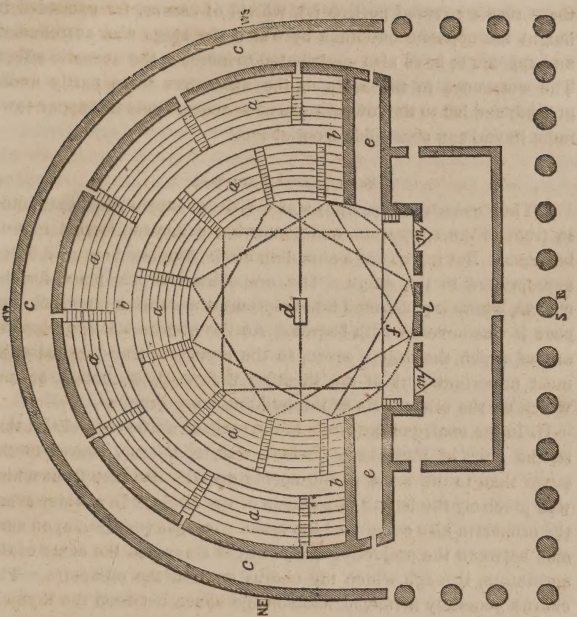
III. It should also be borne in mind that theatres are mentioned in several parts of Greece, where the worship of Dionysus, and the drama connected with it, did not exist, so that these buildings were devoted to other public exhibitions. Thus at Athens itself there were in later times, besides the theatre in the Lenæa, two others, viz., the Ἀγρίππειον and the ἐπὶ Ῥηγίλλῃ θέατρον, which were not destined for dramatic performances, but were only places in which the sophists delivered their declamations. At Sparta there was a theatre of white marble,[1] in which assemblies of the people were held, choral dances performed, and the like,[2] for the festive joy of Dionysus and the regular drama were foreign to the Spartans. All the theatres, however, which were constructed in Greece, were probably built after the model of that of Athens.

IV. The Attic theatre was, like all the Greek theatres, placed in such a manner that the portion appropriated for the spectators formed the upper or northwestern, and the stage, with all that belonged to it, the southeastern part, and between these two parts lay the orchestra. We shall consider each of these three divisions separately, with reference, at the same time, to the opposite plan, made from the remains of Greek theatres still extant, and from a careful examination of the passages in ancient writers which describe the whole or parts of a theatre, especially in Vitruvius and Pollux.

1. PLACE FOR THE SPECTATORS.

I. The place for the spectators was, in a narrower sense of the word, called θέατρον. The seats for the spectators, which were, in most cases, cut into the rock, consisted of rows of benches rising one above another. The rows themselves (*a*) formed parts (nearly three fourths) of concentric circles, and were at intervals divided into compartments by one or more broad passages (*b*) running between them, and parallel with the benches. These passages were called διαζώματα or κατατομαί (Lat. *præcinctiones*);[3] and when the concourse of people was very great in a theatre, many persons

[1] *Paus.*, iii., 14, 1.
[2] *Athen.*, iv., p. 139; xiv., p. 631.
[3] *Vitruv.*, v., 3 and 7; *Pollux*, iv., 123.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there rose a covered portico (*c*), which, of course, far exceeded in height the opposite buildings by which the stage was surrounded, and appears to have also contributed to increase the acoustic effect. The entrances to the seats of the spectators were partly under ground, and led to the lowest rows of benches, while the upper rows must have been accessible from above.[1]

2. ORCHESTRA (ὀρχήστρα).

I. The *Orchestra* (ὀρχήστρα) was a circular level space, extending in front of the spectators, and somewhat below the lowest row of benches. But it was not a complete circle, one segment of it being appropriated to the stage. The orchestra was the place for the chorus, where it performed its evolutions and dances, for which purpose it was covered with boards. As the chorus was the element out of which the drama arose, so the orchestra was originally the most important part of the theatre: it formed the centre around which all the other parts of the building were grouped.

II. In the centre of the circle of the orchestra was the θυμέλη, that is, the altar of Bacchus (*d*), which was, of course, nearer to the stage than to the seats of the spectators, the distance from which was precisely the length of a radius of the circle. In a wider sense the orchestra also comprised the broad passages (πάροδοι, *e*) on each side between the projecting wings of the stage and the seats of the spectators, through which the chorus entered the orchestra. The chorus generally arranged itself in the space between the thymele and the stage. The thymele itself was of a square form, and was used for various purposes, according to the nature of the different plays, such as a funeral monument, an altar, &c. It was made of boards, and was surrounded on all sides with steps.

III. The thymele thus stood upon a raised platform, which was sometimes occupied by the leader of the chorus, the flute-player, and the rhabdophori.[2] The flute-player as well as the prompter (ὑποβολεύς, *monitor*) were generally placed behind the thymele, so as to face the stage, and not to be seen by the spectators. The orchestra, as well as the θέατρον, lay under the open sky; a roof is nowhere mentioned.

3. THE STAGE.

I. Steps led from each side of the orchestra to the stage, and by them the chorus probably ascended the stage whenever it took a

[1] *Pollux*, iv., 123.

[2] *Müller, Dissert. on the Eumen. of Æschylus*, p. 249, *seqq.*, *transl.*

real part in the action itself. The back of the stage was closed by a wall called the *σκηνή* or *scena*, from which, on each side, a wing projected, which was called the *παρασκήνιον*. The whole depth of the stage was not very great, as it only comprised a segment of the circle of the orchestra. The whole space from the scena to the orchestra was termed the proscenium (*προσκήνιον*), and was what we should call the real stage. That part of it which was nearest to the orchestra, and where the actors stood when they spoke, was the *λογεῖον*, also called *ὀκρίβας* or *ὀκρίβαντες*, in Latin *pulpitum*, which was, of course, raised above the orchestra, and was probably on a level with the thymele. What the *ὑποσκήνιον* was is not clear; some think that it was a place to which the actors withdrew when they had acted their parts; others think that it was the same as the *κονίστρα*;[1] but as it is stated that the *ὑποσκήνιον* was adorned with statues, it seems more probable that it was the wall under the *λογεῖον*, which faced the orchestra and the spectators.

II. The *σκηνή* or *scena* was, as we have already stated, the wall which closed the stage (*proscenium* and *logĕum*) from behind. It represented a suitable back-ground or the locality in which the action was going on. Before the play began, it was covered with a curtain (*παραπέτασμα*, *προσκήνιον*, *αὐλαῖαι*,[2] Latin *aulæa*). When the play began this curtain was let down, and was rolled upon a roller underneath the stage. The *proscenium* and *logeum* were never concealed from the spectators.

III. As regards the scenery represented on the *σκηνή*, it was different for tragedy, comedy, and the satyric drama, and for each of these kinds of poetry the scenery must have been capable of various modifications, according to the character of each individual play; at least, that this was the case with the various tragedies is evident from the scenes described in the tragedies still extant. In the latter, however, the back-ground (*σκηνή*) in most cases represented the front of a palace with a door in the centre (*i*), which was called the *royal door*. This palace generally consisted of two stories (*διστεγία*), and upon its flat roof there appears to have sometimes been some elevated place from which persons might observe what was going on at a distance.[3]

IV. The palace presented on each side a projecting wing, each of which had its separate entrance. These wings generally represented the habitations of guests and visitors. All the three doors must have been visible to the spectators.[4] The protagonistes, or

[1] *Suid., s. v.* Σκηνή.
[2] *Pollux*, iv., 122.
[3] *Eurip., Phœn.*, 88, *seqq.*
[4] *Vitruv.*, v., 7.

actor who performed the principal part, entered on the stage through the middle, or, as it was also called, the royal door; the deuteragonistes and tritagonistes through those on the right and left wings. In tragedies like the Prometheus, the Persians, Philoctetes, Œdipus at Colonus, and others, the back-ground did not represent a palace. There are other pieces, again, in which the scena must have been changed in the course of the performance, as in the Eumenides of Æschylus and the Ajax of Sophocles. The dramas of Euripides required a great variety of scenery; and if, in addition to this, we recollect that several pieces were played in one day, it is manifest that the mechanical parts of the stage performance, at least in the days of Euripides, must have been brought to great perfection.

V. The scena in the Satyric drama appears to have always represented a woody district with hills and grottoes. In comedy, the scena represented, at least in later times, the fronts of private dwellings, or the habitations of slaves.[1] The art of scene-painting must have been applied long before the time of Sophocles, although Aristotle[2] ascribes its introduction to him.

4. THEATRICAL MACHINES.

The machines in the Greek theatres were extremely numerous, but we are in many cases unable to form an exact idea of their nature and their effects. We shall only mention the most important among them.

1. The *περίακτοι* (*m*) stood near the two side entrances of the scena. Their form was that of a prism, and by a single turn they produced a change in the scenery.[3] 2. The *χαρώνιοι κλίμακες*, or Charonian steps, by which the shades ascended from the lower world upon the stage.[4] 3. The *μηχανή*, *κράδη*, or *ἐώρημα*, a machine by which gods or heroes were represented passing through or floating in the air.[5] 4. The *ἐξώστρα* or *ἐκκύκλημα*, by means of which things that were previously concealed from view were pushed or rolled forward from behind, and made visible to the spectators. The *ἐξώστρα*, however, strictly speaking, differed from the *ἐκκύκλημα*, in being moved on rollers, but the latter on wheels. Both seem to have been used for the same purpose, namely, to exhibit to the eyes of the spectators the results or consequences of such things (for instance, murder or suicide) as could not consistently take place in the proscenium, and were therefore described as having occurred behind the scenes. 5. The *θεολογεῖον*, an especial

[1] *Vitruv.*, v., 8, 1; *Pollux*, iv., 125. [2] *Poet.*, iv., 16.
[3] *Vitruv.*, v., 7; *Pollux*, iv., 126. [4] *Pollux*, iv., 132. [5] *Id.*, iv., 126.

Deus ex machina

elevated place above the scena, for the deities of Olympus, when they had to appear in their full majesty. 6. The *βροντεῖον*, a machine for imitating thunder. It appears to have been placed underneath the stage, and to have consisted of large brazen vessels in which stones were rolled.[1]

5. THE ACTORS.

I. The two particulars in which the ancient drama differed most widely from the modern, were the performance of all the parts, female as well as male, by men, and the limitation of the number of actors to three. The primary cause of the absence of female performers was not, as some suppose, the retiring character of the Athenian females, nor even the want of sufficient power in the female voice to fill the immense area of the theatre. It will rather be found in the practice of the ancient Dionysian chorus (the parent of tragedy), in which all the parts were sustained by males.

II. As we have just remarked, the Greek drama originated in the chorus which at the festivals of Dionysus danced around his altar. At first one person detached himself from the chorus, and, with mimic gesticulation, related his story either to the chorus or in conversation with it. If the story thus acted required more than one person, they were all represented in succession by the same actor, and there was never more than one person on the stage at a time. This custom was retained by Thespis and Phrynichus. But it was clear that if the chorus took an active and independent part in such a play, it would have been obliged to leave its original and characteristic sphere. Æschylus therefore added a second actor, so that the action and the dialogue became independent of the chorus, and the dramatist, at the same time, had an opportunity of showing two persons in contrast with each other on the stage.[2]

III. Toward the close of his career, Æschylus found it necessary to introduce a third actor, as is the case in the Agamemnon, Choëphori, and Eumenides.[3] This number of three actors was also adopted by Sophocles and Euripides, and was but seldom exceeded in any Greek drama. In the Œdipus at Colonus, however, which was performed after the death of Sophocles, four actors appeared on the stage at once, and this deviation from the general rule was called *παραχορήγημα*.[4]

IV. The three regular actors were distinguished, as already remarked, by the technical names of *πρωταγωνιστής*, *δευτεραγωνιστής*,

[1] *Suid.*, *s. v.* Βροντή; *Pollux*, iv., 130.
[2] *Aristot.*, *Poet.*, ii., 14.
[3] *Pollux*, iv., 110.
[4] *Id.*, *l. c.*

and *τριταγωνιστής*, which indicated the more or less prominent part which an actor had to perform in the drama. Certain conventional means were also devised, by which the spectators, at the moment an actor appeared on the stage, were enabled to judge which part he was going to perform; thus the protagonistes always came on the stage from the central or royal door, the deuteragonistes from the one on the right, and the tritagonistes from the one on the left.[1]

V. The protagonistes was the principal hero or heroine of a play, in whom all the power and energy of the drama were concentrated; and whenever a Greek play is called after the name of one of its personæ, it is always the name of the character which was performed by the protagonistes. The female characters of a play were always performed by young men. A distinct class of persons, who made acting on the stage their profession, was unknown to the Greeks during the period of their great dramatists. The earliest and greatest dramatic poets, Thespis, Melanthius, Sophocles, and probably Æschylus also, acted in their own plays, and, in all likelihood, as protagonistæ. These circumstances show that it was by no means thought degrading in Greece to perform as an actor, and that no stigma whatever was attached to the name of a man for his appearing on the stage. Bad actors, however, to whatever station in life they belonged, were not, on that account, spared; and the general mode of showing displeasure on the part of the spectators seems to have been by whistling.[2] It appears that when the spectators showed their displeasure in too offensive or insulting a manner, the actors would sometimes attack the most forward of the audience, and quarrels of this kind ended not unfrequently in blows and wounds.[3]

VI. At a later period, however, persons began to devote themselves exclusively to the profession of actors, and distinguished individuals received, even as early as the time of Demosthenes, exorbitant sums for their performances. At the time when Greece had lost her independence, we find regular troops of actors, who were either stationary in particular towns of Greece, or wandered from place to place, and engaged themselves wherever they found it most profitable. They formed regular companies or guilds, with their own internal organization, and with their common officers, property, and sacra. We possess a number of inscriptions belonging to such companies. These actors, however, are generally spoken of in very contemptuous terms. They were, perhaps, in some cases slaves

[1] *Pollux*, iv., 124.
[2] *Demosth., de Coron.*, p. 315.
[3] *Id. ib.*, p. 314; *de Fals. Leg.*, p. 449.

or freedmen, and their ordinary pay seems to have been seven drachmæ for every performance.[1]

6. THEATRICAL COSTUME.

I. There can be no doubt that the somewhat fantastic costume, which was handed down without any change from one generation of actors to another, was closely connected with the religious character of their tragic performances. The peculiar fashion and brilliant colors of the tragic wardrobe belonged rather to the Dionysian solemnities than the stage. That Æschylus, by whom the greater part of it was invented, kept steadily in view the original intention of tragedy, is evident from the notices which we find in ancient writers of his theatrical dresses having been worn in other religious ceremonies and processions.

II. The tragic costume for male characters of the highest rank consisted of an embroidered tunic with sleeves, which in the older personages reached to the feet (*χιτὼν ποδήρης*), and in the younger to the knees. Over this was thrown a green palla, or long mantle (*σύρμα*),[2] which also reached to the feet, and was richly ornamented with a purple and gold border. Persons of high, but not royal rank, wore a shorter red mantle embroidered with gold, which was partially covered by a richly-embroidered high-fitting scarf (*μασχαλιστήρ*). Soothsayers wore over the tunic a kind of net-work, composed of woollen threads. A sort of padded waistcoat (*κόλπωμα*) was also worn over the tunic, the object of which was to increase the size of the waist. This was the costume of powerful and warlike sovereigns, such as Atreus, Agamemnon, &c.

III. Dionysus, or Bacchus, appeared in a purple tunic, which hung negligently from an embroidered shoulder-knot, and a thin, transparent, saffron-colored robe, with a thyrsus in his hand. Even Hercules himself was not the athletic hero of the old mythology, with a lion's skin thrown loosely round his muscular limbs, but a solemn theatrical personage, enveloped in a long mantle. The costume of a queen was a flowing purple robe, with a white scarf; and, for mourning, a black robe and blue or dark yellow shawl. Persons in distress, especially exiles, wore dirty white, dark gray, dingy yellow, or bluish garments. There were also swords, sceptres, lances, bows, quivers, heralds' staves, clubs, daggers (with blades which shut up within the handle), and every other sort of theatrical property.

IV. To increase their height, the tragic performers wore the *co-*

[1] *Lucian, Icaromen.*, 29; *de Merced. Cond.*, 5. [2] *Pollux*, vii., 67.

thurnus (κόθορνος). This was a species of boot or buskin, rising above the middle of the leg, so as to surround the calf, and laced in front, in order to make it fit the leg as closely as possible. The invention of the tragic buskin is attributed to Æschylus, though some ascribe it to Sophocles. It appears to have been modelled after the hunter's boot. The object of the actors in wearing the cothurnus was to elevate them above the ordinary level of human stature; for the personages of all the Greek dramas were individuals of the Heroic ages, who were thought to have been superior in size to their posterity. Hence the soles were made unusually thick by the insertion of slices of cork.[1] The long garments worn by the actors were partly intended to conceal the device of the buskin. The chorus, on the other hand, not being intended to represent the heroic stature, wore merely sandals. So also in comedy a low shoe (*soccus*) was employed by the actor, the stature being, as in the case of the tragic chorus, that of ordinary humanity.

V. Another important addition to the costume of the actor was the mask (πρόσωπον or προσωπεῖον). Masks were worn by Greek and Roman actors in nearly all dramatic representations. This custom arose undoubtedly from the practice of smearing the face with certain juices and colors, and of appearing in disguise at the festivals of Dionysus. Choerilus of Samos, however, is said to have been the first who introduced regular masks.[2] Others, however, attribute the invention of masks to Thespis or Æschylus,[3] though the latter had probably only the merit of perfecting and completing the whole theatrical apparatus and costume. Phrynichus is said to have first introduced female masks.[4] Some masks covered, like the masks of modern times, only the face; but they appear more generally to have covered the whole head down to the shoulders, for we find always the hair belonging to a mask described as being a part of it; and this must have been the case in tragedy more especially, as it was necessary to make the head correspond to the stature of an actor heightened by the cothurnus. Hence the hair on the top of the mask was fashioned into a kind of top-knot, called ὄγκος.

VI. It may at first seem strange to us that the ancients, with their refined taste in the perception of the beautiful in form and expression, should, by the use of masks, have deprived the spectators in their theatres of the possibility of observing the various expressions of which the human face is capable, and which with us con-

[1] *Serv. ad Virg., Æn.*, i., 337.
[2] *Suid., s. v.* Χοιρίλλος.
[3] *Horat., Ep. ad Pis.*, 278.
[4] *Suid., s. v.* Φρύνιχος

tribute so much to theatrical illusion. But it must be remembered, that in the large theatres of the ancients it would have been impossible for the greater part of the audience to distinguish the natural features of an actor. The features of the masks were, for this reason, very strong and marked. Again, the dramatis personæ of most of the ancient tragedies were heroes or gods, and their characters were so well known to the spectators that they were perfectly typical. Every one, therefore, knew immediately, on the appearance of such a character on the stage, who it was, and it would have been difficult for a Greek audience to imagine that a god or hero should have had a face like that of an ordinary actor. The use of the cothurnus also rendered a proportionate enlargement of the countenance absolutely necessary, or else the figure of an actor would have been ridiculously disproportionate.[1]

CHAPTER XLII.

I. The lively and social character of the Greeks occasioned many social meetings, which acquired importance from their close connection with religious festivals, and with the public gymnastic exercises, which played an important part in Grecian education, as promoting the development of strength and adroitness, and laying the foundation of martial valor, besides exhibiting models of manly beauty. In many parts of Greece we find periodical festivals of this description, to which the rest of the Greeks were admitted.

II. Four of these festivals gradually raised themselves from the rank of local to that of national solemnities, namely, the games at Olympia in Elis, at Delphi in Phocis, at Nemëa in Argolis, and on the Isthmus of Corinth. We will now speak of these in order.

1. OLYMPIC GAMES.

I. The Olympic festival was celebrated, as just remarked, at Olympia in Elis, the name given to a small plain to the west of Pisa, which was bounded on the north and northeast by the mountains Cronius and Olympus, on the south by the River Alpheus, and on the west by the Cladeus, which flows into the Alpheus. Olympia does not appear to have been a town, but rather a collection of temples and public buildings.

II. The exact interval at which the Olympic games recurred was one of forty-nine and fifty lunar months alternately, so that the cel-

[1] *Müller, Hist. Lit. Gr.*, i., p. 298, *seqq.*

ebration sometimes fell in the month Apollonius (July), sometimes in the month Parthenius (August). The period between two celebrations was called an Olympiad.

III. The Olympic festival lasted five days. Its origin is concealed amid the obscurity of the mythic period of Grecian history. Olympia was a sacred spot, and had an oracle of Jupiter long before the institution of the games. The Eleans had various traditions,[1] which attributed the original foundation of the festival to gods and heroes at a period long prior to the Trojan war, and among these to the Idæan Hercules, to Pelops, and to Hercules the son of Alcmena. The Eleans farther stated, that, after the Ætolians had possessed themselves of Elis, their whole territory was consecrated to Jupiter; that the games were revived by their king Iphitus, in conjunction with Lycurgus, as a remedy for the disorders of Greece, and that Iphitus obtained the sanction of the Delphic oracle to the institution, and appointed a periodical sacred truce, to enable persons to attend the games from every part of Greece, and to return to their homes in safety. Other accounts mention Cleosthenes of Pisa as an associate of Iphitus and Lycurgus in the revival of the festival.[2]

IV. The date of the revival by Iphitus is, according to Eratosthenes, 884 B.C.; according to Callimachus, 828 B.C. Clinton prefers the latter date.[3] The Olympiads began to be reckoned, however, from the year 776 B.C., in which year Coroebus was victor in the foot-race. We have lists of the victors from that year, which always include the victors in the foot-race, and in later times those in the other games.[4]

V. The Olympic, like all the other public festivals, might be attended by all who were of the Hellenic race; though at first probably the northern Greeks, and perhaps the Achæans of Peloponnesus, were not admitted. Spectators came to Olympia not only from Greece itself, but also from the Grecian colonies in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Among them were solemn deputations sent to represent their respective states. Women, however, were forbidden to appear at Olympia, or even to cross the Alpheus, during the festival, under pain of death. But at a later period we find women taking part in the chariot-race, though it is doubtful whether they ever drove their own chariots. An exception was made to this law of exclusion in favor of the priestess of Ceres, and certain virgins, who were permitted to be present at the games, and had a place assigned to them opposite to the judges.

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[1] *Pausan.*, v., 7, 4; v., 8, 1, &c.
[2] *Id.*, v., 20, 21.
[3] *Fast. Hell.*, vol. ii., p. 408, note *h*.
[4] *Pausan.*, v., 8, 3.

VI. The management of the festival was in the hands of the Eleans. Originally, indeed, Pisa, in whose territory Olympia lay, seems to have had an equal share in the administration; but in the 50th Olympiad the Eleans destroyed Pisa, and from that time they had the entire management of the games. They proclaimed the sacred truce, first in their own territories, and then throughout the whole of Greece. This truce took effect from the time of its proclamation in Elis, and while it lasted the Elean territory was inviolable, any armed invasion of it being esteemed an act of sacrilege. On this privilege the Eleans founded a claim to have their territory always considered sacred, though, in fact, they themselves did not abstain from war. As the presiding nation, they gave laws for the regulation of the festival, imposed penalties on individuals and states, and had the power of excluding from the games those who resisted their decrees. They actually thus excluded the Lacedæmonians on one occasion, and the Athenians on another.

VII. The Eleans appointed the judges of the contest, who were called *Hellanodicæ* (Ἑλλανοδίκαι).[1] These were instructed in the duties of their office for a period of ten months before the festival by Elean officers called *Nomophylaces* (Νομοφύλακες).[2] They were sworn to act impartially; and an appeal might be made from their decision to the Elean senate.[3] Their number varied at different periods: in the 106th Olympiad it was fixed at ten, which was the number ever afterward. The judges had under them different officers, called *ἀλύται*, whose business it was to keep order.[4] These officers were called *μαστιγοφόροι* in the other Grecian games.

VIII. The Olympic festival consisted of religious ceremonies, athletic contests, and races. The chief deity who presided over it was Jupiter Olympius, whose temple at Olympia, containing the ivory and gold statue of the god, was one of the most magnificent works of art in Greece. The worship of Apollo was associated with that of Jupiter, and the early traditions connect Hercules with that festival. There were altars at Olympia to other gods, which were said to have been erected by Hercules, and at which the victors sacrificed.

IX. The games consisted of horse and foot races, leaping, throwing, wrestling, and boxing, and combinations of those exercises.

1. The earliest of these games was the *foot-race* (*δρόμος*), which was the only one revived by Iphitus. The space run was the length of the stadium, in which the games were held, namely, six hundred

[1] *Pausan.*, v., 9, 4, *seq.*
[2] *Id.*, vi., 24, 3.
[3] *Id.*, vi., 3, 3.
[4] *Lucian, Herm.*, c. 40.

Greek feet, or six hundred and six and three quarter English feet In the 14th Olympiad (724 B.C.), the *δίαυλος* was added, in which the stadium was traversed twice. The *δόλιχος*, which consisted of several lengths of the stadium (seven, twelve, or twenty-four, according to different authorities), was added in the 15th Olympiad (B.C. 720). A race in which the runners wore armor (*ὁπλιτῶν δρόμος*) was established in the 65th Olympiad, but soon after abolished

2. *Wrestling* (*πάλη*) was introduced in the 18th Olympiad (B.C 708). The wrestlers were matched in pairs by lot. When there was an odd number, the person who was left by the lot without an antagonist wrestled last of all with him who had conquered the others. He was called *ἔφεδρος*. The athlete who gave his antagonist three throws gained the victory. There was another kind of wrestling (*ἀνακλινοπάλη*), in which, if the combatant who fell could drag down his antagonist with him, the struggle was continued on the ground, and the one who succeeded in getting uppermost, and holding the other down, gained the victory.

When two athletes began their contest of wrestling, each might use a variety of means to seize his antagonist in the most advantageous manner, and to throw him down without exposing himself;[1] but one of the great objects was to make every attack with elegance and beauty, and the fight was for this, as well as for other purposes, regulated by certain laws.[2] Striking, for instance, was not allowed, but pushing an antagonist backward (*ὠθισμός*) was frequently resorted to. The contest in wrestling was divided by the ancients into two parts, namely, the *πάλη ὀρθή* or *ὀρθία*, that is, the fight of the athletæ as long as they stood upright, and the *ἀλίνδησις* or *κύλισις*, in which they struggled with each other while lying on the ground. Unless they contrived to rise again, the *ἀλίνδησις* was the last stage of the contest, which continued until one of them acknowledged himself to be conquered. The *πάλη ὀρθή* appears to have been the only one which was fought in the time of Homer, as well as afterward in the great national games of the Greeks; and as soon as one athlete fell, the other allowed him to rise and continue the contest if he still felt inclined.[3] But if the same athlete fell thrice, the victory was decided, and he was not allowed to go on.[4] The *ἀλίνδησις* was only fought in later times at the smaller games, and especially in the pancratium. The place where the wrestlers contended was generally soft ground and covered with sand.

[1] *Ovid, Met.*, ix., 33; *Heliod., Æthiop.*, x., p. 235.
[2] *Plat., de Leg.*, viii., p. 834.
[3] *Id. ib.*, vii., p. 796.
[4] *Senec., de Benef.*, v., 3.

3. In the same year with wrestling (B.C. 708) was introduced the *pentathlum* (πένταθλον), or, as the Romans called it, *quinquertium*. It consisted of the five exercises enumerated in the following verse, ascribed to Simonides:

Ἅλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην,

that is, *leaping*, *running*, *throwing the quoit*, *throwing the javelin*, *wrestling*. Others, however, give a different enumeration of the exercises of the pentathlum. These exercises were all performed in one day, and in a certain order, one after the other, by the same athletæ. The order in which the different games of the pentathlum followed one another is uncertain. The one adopted by Böckh, and which is the most probable, is as follows: 1. The ἅλμα. This was the most prominent part of the pentathlum, and was sometimes used to designate the whole game. It was accompanied by flute-music. 2. The foot-race. 3. The discus. 4. The throwing of the spear. 5. Wrestling. This accords with the line given above. The discus was a heavy weight of a circular or oval shape: neither this nor the javelin was aimed at a mark, but he who threw farthest was the victor. In order to gain a victory in the pentathlum, it was necessary to conquer in each of its five parts.

4. *Boxing* (πυγμή) was introduced in the 23d Olympiad (B.C. 688). In the earliest times, boxers (πύκται) fought naked, with the exception of a ζῶμα around their loins; but this was not used when boxing was introduced at Olympia, as the contests in wrestling and racing had been carried on here by persons entirely naked ever since the 15th Olympiad. The boxers had their hands, and frequently their arms as high as the elbows, covered with thongs made of ox-hide, which were called ἱμάντες or ἱμάντες πυκτικοί (in Latin *cestus*). There were various kinds of these. In practicing for the games, the athletæ used a kind called μειλίχαι, which gave the softest blows, and was made of raw ox-hide cut into thin pieces;[1] but in the games themselves they used those which gave the severest blows. These

[1] *Pausan.*, viii., 40, 3.

last were a most formidable weapon, being frequently covered with knots and nails, and loaded with lead and iron. Such weapons, in the hands of a trained boxer, must have frequently occasioned death. In later times they were called μύρμηκες. The preceding cut exhibits various specimens of them.

The boxing of the ancients appears to have resembled the practice of modern times. Some particulars, however, deserve to be mentioned. A peculiar method, which required great skill, was not to attack the antagonist, but to remain on the defensive, and thus to wear out the opponent, until he was obliged to acknowledge himself to be conquered.[1] It was considered the sign of the greatest skill in a boxer to conquer without receiving any wounds, so that the two great points in this game were to inflict blows, and, at the same time, not to expose one's self to any danger. A pugilist used his right arm chiefly for fighting, and the left as a protection for his head, for all regular blows were directed against the upper parts of the body, and the wounds inflicted upon the head were often very severe, and sometimes fatal. In some ancient representations of boxers the blood is seen streaming from their noses, and their teeth were frequently knocked out. The ears especially were exposed to great danger, and with regular pugilists they were generally much mutilated and broken. Hence, in works of art, the ears of the pancratiasts always appear beaten flat, and, although swollen in some parts, are yet smaller than ears usually are.

The game of boxing, like all the other gymnastic and athletic games, was regulated by certain rules. Thus pugilists were not allowed to take hold of one another, or to use their feet for the purpose of making one another fall, as was the case in the pancratium.[2] Cases of death, either during the fight itself or soon after, appear to have occurred rather frequently;[3] but if a fighter willfully killed his antagonist, he was severely punished.[4] If both the combatants were tired without wishing to give up the fight, they might pause a while to recover their strength; and in some cases they are described as resting on their knees. If the fight lasted too long, recourse was had to a plan called κλῖμαξ; that is, both parties agreed not to move, but to stand still, and receive the blows without using any means of defence, except a certain position of the hands. The contest did not end till one of the combatants was compelled by fatigue, wounds, or despair, to declare himself conquered, which was generally done by lifting up one hand.[5]

[1] *Dio Chrysost., Melanc.*, ii., Orat. 29.
[2] *Plut., Symp.*, ii., 4.
[3] *Schol. ad Pind., Ol.*, v., 34.
[4] *Pausan.*, viii., 40, 3.
[5] *Plut., Lycurg.*, 19.

5. The *Pancratium* (παγκράτιον) consisted of boxing and wrestling combined. In this exercise, as in boxing, the vanquished combatant acknowledged his defeat by some sign; and this is supposed to be the reason why the Spartans were forbidden by the laws of Lycurgus to practice them, as it would have been esteemed a disgrace to his country that a Spartan should confess himself defeated. It seems, however, that at Sparta, though the regular pancratium was forbidden, the name was there applied to a fierce and irregular fight, not controlled by any rules, in which even biting and scratching were not uncommon, and in which, in short, every thing was allowed by which one of the parties might hope to overcome the other.

The term παγκράτιον is derived from πᾶν and κράτος, and accordingly signifies an athletic game in which all the powers of the fighter were called into action. When two pancratiastæ began their contest, the first object which each of them endeavored to accomplish was to gain a favorable position, each trying to make the other stand so that the sun might shine in his face, or that other inconveniences might prevent his fighting with success. This struggle was only the introduction to the real contest,[1] though in certain cases this preparatory struggle might terminate the whole game, as one of the parties might wear out the other by a series of stratagems, and compel him to give up further resistance.

When the real contest began, each of the fighters might commence by boxing or by wrestling, accordingly as he thought he should be more successful in the one than in the other. The victory was not decided until one of the parties was killed, or lifted up a finger, thereby declaring that he was unable to continue the contest either from pain or fatigue. It usually happened that one of the combatants, by some trick or other, made his antagonist fall to the ground, and the wrestling which then commenced was called, as before remarked, ἀνακλινοπάλη, and continued until one of the parties declared himself conquered, or was strangled, as was the case at Olympia with Arrhichion or Arrhachion of Phigalea, in Ol. 54.

6. The *horse-races* were of two kinds, namely, the *chariot-races*, and the *races on horseback*. The chariot-race, generally with four-horse chariots, was introduced in the 25th Olympiad. The course (ἱπποδρόμος) had two goals in the middle, at the distance probably of two stadia from each other. The chariots started from one of these goals, passed round the other, and returned along the other side of the hippodrome. The circuit was made twelve times. The great art of the charioteer consisted in turning as close as possible

[1] *Æschin. c. Ctes.*, p. 83, *ed. Steph.*

to the goals, but without running against them or against the other chariots. This, of course, would give him the shortest space to traverse. The places at the starting-post were assigned to the chariots by lot. There was another sort of race between chariots with two horses (*δύωρις* or *σύνωρις*[1]). A race between chariots drawn by mules (*ἀπήνη*[2]) was introduced in the 70th Olympiad and abolished in the 84th.

There were two kinds of races on horseback, namely, the *κέλης*, in which each competitor rode one horse throughout the course, and the *κάλπη*, in which, as the horse approached the goal, the rider leaped from his back, and, keeping hold of the bridle, finished the course on foot.

X. All persons were admitted to contend in the Olympic games who could prove that they were freemen, that they were of genuine Hellenic blood, and that their characters were free from infamy and immorality. So great was the importance attached to the second of these particulars, that the kings of Macedon were obliged to make out their Hellenic descent before they were allowed to contend. The equestrian contests were necessarily confined to the wealthy, who displayed in them great magnificence; but the athletic exercises were open to the poorest citizens.[3] In the equestrian games, moreover, there was no occasion for the owner of the chariot or horse to appear in person. Thus Alcibiades, on one occasion, sent seven chariots to the Olympic games, three of which obtained prizes.

XI. The combatants underwent a long and rigorous training, the nature of which varied with the game in which they intended to engage. Ten months before the festival they were obliged to appear at Elis, to enter their names as competitors, stating, at the same time, the prize for which they meant to contend. This interval of ten months was spent in preparatory exercises; and for a part of it, the last thirty days, at least, they were thus engaged in the gymnasium at Elis. When the festival arrived, their names were proclaimed in the stadium, and, after proving that they were not disqualified from taking part in the games, they were led to the altar of Jupiter, the guardian of oaths (*Ζεὺς ὅρκιος*),[4] where they swore that they had gone through all the preparatory exercises required by the laws, and that they would not be guilty of any fraud, nor of any attempt to interfere with the fair course of the games. Any one detected in bribing his adversary to yield him the victory was heavily fined. After they had taken the oath, their relations and countrymen ac-

[1] *Xen., Hell.*, i., 2, 1.
[2] *Pind., Ol.*, v., 6.
[3] *Pausan.*, vi., 10, 1.
[4] *Id.*, v., 24, 2.

companied them into the stadium, exhorting them to acquit themselves nobly.

XII. The prizes in the Olympic games were at first of some intrinsic value, like those given in the games described by Homer. But, after the 7th Olympiad, the only prize given was a garland of wild olive (*κότινος*), cut from a tree in the sacred grove at Olympia, which was said to have been brought by Hercules from the land of the Hyperboreans.[1] Palm leaves were, at the same time, placed in the hands of the victors, and their names, together with the games in which they had conquered, were proclaimed by a herald. The festival ended with processions and sacrifices, and with a public banquet given by the Eleans to the conquerors in the Prytaneum.[2] A victory at Olympia, besides being the highest honor which a Greek could obtain, conferred so much glory on the state to which he belonged, that successful candidates were frequently solicited to allow themselves to be proclaimed citizens of states to which they did not belong. Fresh honors awaited the victor on his return home. He entered his native city in triumph, through a breach made in the walls for his reception; banquets were given to him by his friends, at which odes were sung in honor of his victory, and his statue was often erected, at his own expense or that of his fellow-citizens, in the Altis, as the sacred grove at Olympia was called. At Athens, according to a law of Solon, the Olympic victor was rewarded with a prize of five hundred drachmæ: at Sparta the foremost place in battle was assigned him.

XIII. It seems to be generally admitted that the chief object of this festival was to form a bond of union for the Grecian states. Besides this, the great importance which such an institution gave to the exercises of the body must have had an immense influence in forming the national character. Regarded as a bond of union, the Olympic festival seems to have had but little success in promoting kindly feelings between the Grecian states, and perhaps the rivalry of the contest may have tended to exasperate existing quarrels; but it undoubtedly furnished a striking exhibition of the nationality of the Greeks, and of the distinction between them and other races. Perhaps the contingent effects of the ceremony were, after all, the most important. During its celebration, Olympia was a centre for the commerce of all Greece, for the free interchange of opinions, and for the publication of knowledge. The concourse of people from all Greece afforded a fit audience for literary productions, and gave a motive for the composition of works worthy to be laid be-

[1] *Pausan.*, v., 7, 4. [2] *Id.*, v., 15, 8.

fore them. Poetry and statuary received an impulse from the demand made upon them to aid in perpetuating the victor's fame. But the most important and most difficult question connected with the subject is whether their influence on the national character was for good or for evil. The exercises of the body, on which these games conferred the greatest honor, have been condemned by some philosophers as tending to unfit men for the active duties of citizens, while they were regarded by others as a most necessary part of a manly education, and as the chief cause of the bodily vigor and mental energy which marked the character of the Hellenic race.

Mode of Reducing the Olympic Reckoning to that of the Christian Era.

I. The Olympic games were held every fifth year at the full moon nearest the summer solstice. The beginning of the Olympic year may therefore be fixed on or about the first of July. In order to find the year of the Christian era which corresponds to a given Olympic year, we must proceed thus:

(A.) *For an Event that happened between July* 1 *and December* 31 *inclusive.*

(*a.*) Subtract *one* from the Olympiad.
(*b.*) Multiply the remainder by four.
(*c.*) Add to the product the year of the current Olympiad.
(*d.*) If the sum is *less* than 776, subtract it from 777.
If it is *greater* than 776, subtract 776 from *it*.

Example.

In what year B.C. did the battle of Platææ happen, which took place in the Attic month Boëdromion, in the *second* year of the 75th Olympiad?

(*a.*) 75— 1= 74.
(*b.*) 74× 4=296.
(*c.*) 296+ 2=298.
(*d.*) 777—298=479.

Answer. The battle of Platææ happened 479 B.C.

(B.) *For an Event that happened between January* 1 *and June* 30 *inclusive.*

Take the steps (*a.*) (*b.*) (*c.*) (*d.*) as in (A.); but (*e.*) *subtract one* from the remainder so found if the sum in (*c.*) is *less* than 776, or *add one* to it if it is *greater* than 776; *i. e.*, subtract one for a year B.C., and add one for a year A.D.

Example 1.

The date of the building of Rome (according to the *æra Varroniana*) is Ol. 6, 3, in the spring festival *Palilia*. In what year B.C. was Rome built?

(*a.*) 6— 1= 5.
(*b.*) 5× 4= 20.
(*c.*) 20+ 3= 23.
(*d.*) 777—23=754.
(*e.*) 754— 1=753.

Answer. The date of the building of Rome (according to the *æra Varroniana*) is the spring of B.C. 753.

Example 2.

Reduce Ol. 224, 1, to the reckoning A.D.

(*a.*) 224— 1=223.
(*b.*) 223× 4=892.
(*c.*) 892+ 1=893.
(*d.*) 893—776=117 (if the event happened between July 1 and December 31).
(*e.*) 117+ 1=118 (if the event happened between January 1 and June 30).

2. PYTHIAN GAMES.

I. The Pythian Games were celebrated in the neighborhood of Delphi, anciently called Pytho, in honor of Apollo, Diana, and Latona. The place of the solemnity was the Crissæan plain, which for this purpose contained a hippodrome or race-course of one thousand feet in length, and also a theatre in which the musical contests took place.[1]

II. The Pythian games were, according to most legends, instituted by Apollo himself:[2] other traditions referred them to ancient heroes, such as Amphictyon, Adrastus, Diomedes, and others. They were originally, perhaps, nothing more than a religious panegyris, occasioned by the oracle at Delphi, and the sacred games are said to have been at first only a musical contest, which consisted in singing a hymn to the honor of the Pythian god with the accompaniment of the cithara.[3] Some of the poets, however, and mythographers represent even the gods and early heroes as engaged in gymnastic and equestrian contests at the Pythian games. But such

[1] *Pausan.*, x., 37, 4; *Censor., de Die Nat.*, 13.
[2] *Athen.*, xv., p. 701.
[3] *Pausan.*, x., 7, 2.

statements, numerous as they are, can prove nothing; they are anachronisms in which late writers were fond of indulging. The description of the Pythian games in which Sophocles, in the Electra, makes Orestes take part, belongs to this class.

III. Gymnastic contests do not appear to have been introduced until after Ol. 47. Previous to Ol. 48, the Pythian games were celebrated once every nine years, or at the end of every eighth year; but in Ol. 48, 3, they became, like the Olympic, a *πενταετηρίς*, that is, they were held at the end of every fourth year, and a Pythiad, therefore, ever since the time that it was used as an era, comprehended a space of four years, commencing with the third year of every Olympiad.[1] The games are supposed to have been held in the spring, in the month of Bysius, which is supposed to have been the same with the Attic Munychion. They lasted for several days, but we do not know how many. As to the order in which the various games were performed, scarcely any thing is known, with the exception of some allusions in Pindar and a few remarks of Plutarch. The latter says that the musical contests preceded the gymnastic contests, and from Sophocles it is clear that the gymnastic contests preceded the horse and chariot races.[2]

IV. The prize given to the victors in the Pythian games was, from the second Pythiad, a chaplet of bay; so that then they became an *ἀγὼν στεφανίτης*, while before this they had been an *ἀγὼν χρηματίτης*.[3] In addition to this chaplet, the victor here, as at Olympia, received the symbolic palm-branch, and was allowed to have his own statue erected in the Crissæan plain.

3. NEMEAN GAMES.

I. The Nemean Games were celebrated at Nemea, a place near Cleonæ in Argolis. All the legends respecting them agree in stating that they were originally instituted by the Seven against Thebes,[4] in commemoration of the death of Opheltes, afterward called Archemorus. When the Seven arrived at Nemea, and were very thirsty, they met Hypsipyle, who was carrying Opheltes, the child of the priest of Jupiter and Eurydice. While she showed to the heroes the way to the nearest well, she left the child behind, lying in a meadow, and during her absence it was killed by a serpent. When the Seven, on their return, saw what had happened, they slew the serpent and instituted funeral games, to be held every third year. Other legends attribute the institution of the Nemean games to Her-

[1] *Diod. Sic.*, xv., 60; *Clinton, F. H.*, p. 195.
[2] *Soph., Electr.*, 690, *seqq.*
[3] *Pausan.*, x., 7, 3.
[4] *Id.*, ii., 15, 2; *Apollod.*, iii., 6, 4.

cules, after he had slain the Nemean lion; but the more genuine tradition was that he had either revived the ancient games, or at least introduced the alteration by which they were from this time celebrated in honor of Jupiter.

II. These games were at first of a warlike character, and only warriors and their sons were allowed to take part in them. Subsequently, however, they were thrown open to all the Greeks. They took place in a grove between Cleonæ and Phlius.[1] The various games, according to the enumeration of Apollodorus,[2] were horse-racing, running in armor in the stadium,[3] wrestling, chariot-racing, the discus, boxing, throwing the spear, and shooting with the bow, to which we may add musical contests.[4] The prize given to the victors was at first a chaplet of olive branches, but afterward a chaplet of green parsley. When this alteration was introduced is not certain, though it may be inferred from an expression of Pindar,[5] who calls the parsley (*σέλινον*) the *βοτάνα λέοντος*, that the new prize was believed to have been introduced by Hercules. The judges who awarded the prizes were dressed in black robes.[6]

III. It seems that for a time the celebration of the Nemean games was neglected, and that they were revived in Ol. 53, 2, from which period Eusebius dates the first Nemead. Henceforth it is certain that they were for a long time celebrated regularly twice in every Olympiad, namely, at the commencement of every second Olympic year in the winter, and soon after the commencement of every fourth Olympic year in the summer. About the time of the battle of Marathon it became customary in Argolis to reckon according to Nemeads.

4. ISTHMIAN GAMES.

I. The Isthmian Games were so called from the isthmus of Corinth where they were celebrated. They were held in honor of Neptune. Where the isthmus is narrowest, between the coast of the Saronic Gulf and the western foot of the Œnean hills, was the temple of Neptune, and near it were a theatre and a stadium of white marble, the scene of these games.[7] The entrance to the temple was adorned with an avenue of statues of the victors in the Isthmian games, and with groves of pine-trees.

II. These games were said to have been originally instituted by Sisyphus in honor of Melicertes, who was also called Palæmon.[8]

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[1] *Strab.*, viii., p. 377. [2] *Apollod.*, *l. c.* [3] *Pausan.*, *l. c.*
[4] *Id.*, viii., 50, 3. [5] *Nem.*, vi., 71. [6] *Pausan.*, viii., 40, 3.
[7] *Id.*, ii., 1, 7; *Strab.*, viii., p. 380. [8] *Apollod.*, iii., 4, ?.

Their original mode of celebration partook, as Plutarch remarks,[1] more of the character of mysteries than of a great and national assembly, with its various amusements, and was performed at night. Subsequent to the age of Theseus the Isthmian festival was celebrated in honor of Neptune; and this innovation is ascribed to Theseus himself, who, according to some legends, was a son of Neptune, and who, in the institution of the new Isthmian solemnities, is said to have imitated Hercules, the founder of the Olympic games. The celebration of the Isthmian games was henceforth conducted by the Corinthians, but Theseus had reserved for his Athenians some honorable distinctions. Those Athenians who attended these games sailed across the Saronic Gulf in a sacred vessel (θεωρίς), and an honorary place, προεδρία, as large as the sail of their vessel, was assigned to them during the celebration of the games.[2] In times of war between the two states a sacred truce was concluded, and the Athenians were invited to attend the solemnities.

II. During the reign of the Cypselids at Corinth, the celebration of the Isthmian games was suspended for seventy years; but after that time they gradually rose to the rank of a national festival of all the Greeks. In Ol. 49 they became periodical, and were henceforth celebrated regularly every third year, twice in every Olympiad, that is, in the first and third year of every Olympiad.

III. The season of the Isthmian solemnities was, like that of all the great national festivals, distinguished by general rejoicings and feasting. The athletic contests were the same as those at the Olympian and the other games;[3] but besides these, musical and poetical contests were likewise carried on as at the Pythian games, and in the poetical ones women were allowed to take part.[4] At a late period of the Roman empire the character of the Isthmian games appears greatly altered, and fights of wild animals were exhibited at them, as we may see from a letter of the Emperor Julian. This custom of introducing fights of animals is thought to have come in soon after the time of Cæsar, who rebuilt Corinth.

IV. The prize at the Isthmian games consisted at first of a garland of pine leaves and afterward of a wreath of ivy; but in the end the ivy was again superseded by a pine garland.[5]

[1] *Plut., Thes.*, 25. [2] *Id. ib.* [3] *Pausan.*, v., 2, 4.
[4] *Plut., Sympos.*, v., 2. [5] *Id. ib.*, v., 3.

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CHAPTER XLIII.

ORACLES.

I. It was an extremely ancient belief in Greece that the gods, even after they had ceased to manifest themselves to men in a visible form, were still accustomed to reveal their will in various ways. The power of understanding such revelations generally resided in individuals, such as Calchas in the Iliad; or in families, as the Iamidæ, Clytiadæ, and Telliadæ; or in particular places, which were supposed to be favored by the immediate presence of the divinity.

II. Thus, at a very early period, mention is made of an oracle at Dodōna (Δωδώνη) in Thesprotia, where a Pelasgian race, the Σελλοί,[1] or perhaps Ἕλλοι, were settled. The Pelasgic Jove (of whom these Selli are termed the ministers) was believed to make his revelations here by means of the rustling of a sacred oak, and by the ringing of a brazen caldron when struck by a lash. The oracular response was interpreted by old women (πελειάδες) or priests (τομοῦροι). The reputation of this oracle, however, declined at an early period, especially as that of Delphi became more renowned. We hear, however, of priestesses at Dodona long after this decline.

III. The most renowned oracle of Greece, which was often consulted not only by the Grecian, but by foreign states, was the Delphic, which derived its name from the city of Delphi, anciently called Πυθώ, in the country of Phocis, on the southern slope of Mount Parnassus. Its origin is involved in fabulous obscurity. It owed its celebrity principally to the circumstance that the Hellenes, particularly the Dorians, who in early times dwelt in its neighborhood, and traced their origin from Apollo, afterward spread themselves over the whole of Greece, and diffused a belief in the sanctity of their god and of his oracle. It soon became the universal oracle of all Greece, acquired great wealth, partly through the offerings of those who consulted it, partly from the tithes of spoils taken in war, and was placed under the protection of the Amphictions.

IV. The Delphic oracle had at all times a leaning in favor of the Greeks of the Doric race; but the time when it began to lose its influence must be dated from the period when Athens and Sparta

[1] *Hom., Il.*, xvi., 233, *seqq.*

entered upon their struggle for the supremacy in Greece; for at this time the partiality for Sparta became so manifest, that the Athenians and their party began to lose all reverence and esteem for it,[1] and the oracle became a mere instrument in the hands of a political party. In the times of Cicero and Plutarch, many believed that the oracle had lost the powers which it had possessed in former days; but it still continued to be consulted down to the times of the Emperor Julian, until, at last, it was entirely done away with by Theodosius.

V. In the innermost sanctuary of the temple was the statue of Apollo, which was, at least in later times, of gold; and before it there burned upon an altar an eternal fire, which was fed only with fir-wood.[2] The inner roof of the temple was covered all over with garlands of bay, and upon the altar bay was burned as an incense. In the centre of this temple there was a small opening (*χάσμα*) in the ground, from which, from time to time, an intoxicating gas arose, which was believed to come from the well of Cassotis, which vanished into the ground close by the sanctuary.[3] Over this chasm there stood a high tripod, on which the Pythia, led into the temple by the *prophētes* (*προφήτης*), took her seat whenever the oracle was to be consulted. The smoke rising from under the tripod affected her brain in such a manner that she fell into a state of delirious intoxication, and the sounds which she uttered in this state were believed to contain the revelations of Apollo. These sounds were carefully written down by the *prophētes*, and afterward communicated to the persons who had come to consult the oracle.[4]

VI. The Pythia (*προφῆτις*) was always a native of Delphi,[5] and when she had once entered the service of the god she never left it, and was never allowed to marry. In early times she was always a young girl, but the Delphians subsequently made a law that no one should be appointed a Pythia who had not attained the age of fifty years.[6] The Pythia was generally taken from some family of poor country-people. At first there was only one Pythia at a time; but when Greece was in its most flourishing state, and when the number of those who came to consult the oracle was very great, there were always two Pythias, who took their seat on the tripod alternately, and a third was kept in readiness in case some accident should happen to either of the two others.[7] The effect of the gas

[1] *Plut., Demosth.*, 20.
[2] *Æsch., Choëph.*, 1036.
[3] *Plut.*, x., 24, 5.
[4] *Diod. Sic.*, xvi., 26; *Strab.*, ix., p. 419.
[5] *Eurip., Ion*, 92.
[6] *Diod., l. c.*
[7] *Plut., Quæst. Græc.*, c. 9.

on the whole mental and physical constitution is said to have been sometimes so great, that in her delirium she leaped from the tripod, was thrown into convulsions, and after a few days died.[1]

VII. At first oracles were given only once every year, on the seventh of the month of Bysius (probably the same as Πύθιος, or the month for consulting), which was believed to be the birth-day of Apollo;[2] but as this one day in the course of time was not found sufficient, a certain day in every month was set apart for the purpose.[3] The order in which the persons who came to consult were admitted was determined by lot;[4] but the Delphian magistrates had the power of granting the right of προμαντεία, that is, the right of consulting first, and without the order being determined by lot, to such individuals or states as had acquired claims on the gratitude of the Delphians, or whose political ascendency seemed to give them higher claims than others. It appears that those who consulted the oracle had to pay a certain fee. The Pythia always spent three days before she ascended the tripod in preparing herself for the solemn act, and during this time she fasted, and bathed in the Castalian well, and dressed in a simple manner; she also burned in the temple bay-leaves and flour of barley upon the altar of the god.[5]

VIII. Most of the oracular answers which are extant are in hexameters, and in the Ionic dialect. Sometimes, however, Doric forms also were used.[6] The hexameter was, according to some accounts, invented by Phemonoë, the first Pythia. This metrical form was chosen, partly because it was easier to remember verse than prose.[7] Some of the oracular verses had metrical defects, which the faithful among the Greeks accounted for in an ingenious manner.[8] In the times of Theopompus, however, the custom of giving the oracles in verse seems to have gradually ceased. They were henceforth generally in prose, and in the Doric dialect spoken at Delphi.

IX. The divine agency in Pytho is said to have been first discovered by goatherds, who tended their herds in the neighborhood of the chasm, and whose goats, when approaching the place, were seized with convulsions.[9] Persons who came near the place showed the same symptoms, and received the power of prophecy. This at last induced the people to build a temple over the sacred spot. This

[1] *Plut., de Orac. Def.*, c. 51.
[2] *Plut., Quæst. Græc.*, c. 9.
[3] *Id., Alex.*, 14.
[4] *Æsch., Eum.*, 32; *Eurip., Ion*, 422.
[5] *Schol. ad Eurip., Phæn.*, 230; *Plut., de Pyth. Or.*, c. 6.
[6] *Herod.*, iv., 157, 159.
[7] *Plut., de Pyth. Or.*, 19.
[8] *Plut., l. c.*, c. 5.
[9] *Diod. Sic.*, xvi., 26; *Plut., de Def. Or.*, c. 42.

temple was burned down in B.C. 548, and another was built on a larger and much more magnificent scale.

X. There were several other oracles, such as the oracle of Apollo at Delos, at Patăra in Lycia, at Claros near Colŏphon, at Didўme near Milētus (superintended by the Branchidæ), at Abæ in Phocis, the cave of Trophonius near Lebadēa in Bœotia, the oracle of Jupiter at Olympia, the temple of Amphiarāus at Orōpus in Bœotia, and many others. The responses were received after a variety of preparatory ceremonies, and in different manners; in some places, the temple of Amphiarāus for instance, by lying down to sleep in the temple (ἐγκοίμησις). As foreigners sometimes consulted the oracles of Greece, so we find that the Greeks themselves had recourse to foreign oracles; for example, to that of Jupiter Ammon.

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